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PALESTINIAN WEEKLY

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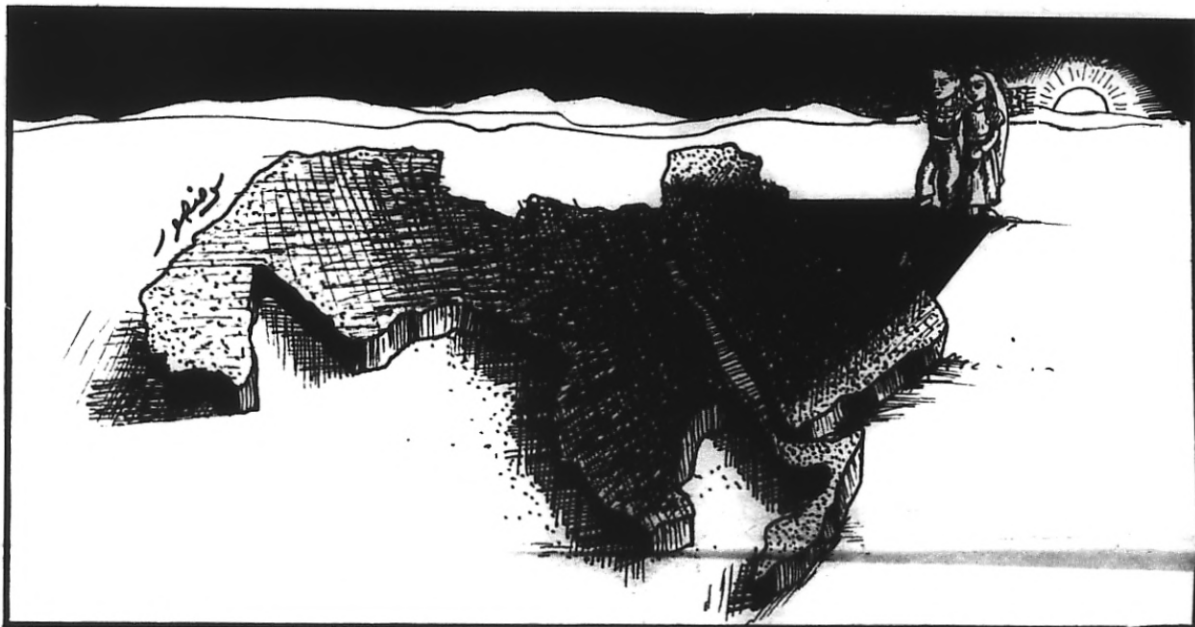
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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.



INTERNATIONAL FIGURES, NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS CALL FOR COMMEMORATIVE STRIKE

Palestinian national institutions and a convention of international personalities issued a call for a march to Jerusalem on the anniversary of the massacre of Sabra and Shatila, September 18, under the slogans "self-determination for the Palestinian people" and "immediate Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territory."

Leaflets distributed in Jerusalem from both parties stated that "the culmination of the cumulative denial of Palestinian humanity is massacre." The international leaflet listed the

massacres of Deir Yassin, Qibya, Kufr Qasem, Sabra and Shatila and "the future massacre of which the Palestinian people live in constant fear." Their call to support the march, they said, is modelled "on the tradition of that great democratic movement for civil rights launched two decades ago in Selma, Alabama (USA)."

The march organisers are supported by law professor Richard Arens, brother of Israel's defence minister, Ramsey Clark, former US attorney general, Richard Falk, renowned professor of international law, Dick

Gregory, black comedian and civil rights activist, Ralph Schoenman, veteran civil rights activist, and other figures.

The "National Manifesto," signed by the national institutions in the occupied territories, said it was a "summons to the nation to a great, peaceful mobilisation and general strike to commemorate the first anniversary of Sabra and Shatila." It also called upon "all people of good will throughout the world to join us and to support us in a massive campaign to defend our existence and to assert our fundamental national rights."

the Palestinian people;

— and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to Israel.

CAWL also plans to hold a demonstration, September 19, in Tel Aviv's King of Israel square to honour the memory of the victims of the Lebanon war, a spokesperson said. Buses will leave Jerusalem for Tel Aviv at 5:30 pm from the Binyane HaUma hall, opposite the bus station in West Jerusalem, the statement noted.

— self-determination for the Palestinian people;

— complete Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied in 1967;

— immediate Israeli negotiations with the PLO — the sole and legitimate representative of

USA Prepares to Invade Lebanon

Full-scale civil war continued through the second week in Lebanon in the Shouf mountains, southern suburbs of Beirut and Kharoub region south of the capital, leaving at least 617 dead and 1169 wounded. The fighting was marked this week by US, British and French multinational forces' involvement in support of Lebanese army positions against advancing resistance forces.

The battle for the Shouf, 85 percent of which is in the hands of Walid Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party, centred around the mountain villages of Souq al-Gharb, on the axis line to Beirut and Deir al-Qamar, where most of the area's Christian residents have sought refuge from the fighting.

Both villages are controlled by rightist-Phalangist forces but are hard pressed by surrounding PSP fighters. Jumblatt permitted Red Cross food and medical provisions to enter the isolated

town and promised safe passage to its population.

The most ominous development of the week was US President Ronald Reagan's green light to the ever-increasing American forces, now backed up by two nuclear-powered warships off the Lebanese coast, to hit at Lebanese resistance targets.

A Saudi Arabian initiative for a cease-fire floated through the area but was rejected by the Lebanese government. No other diplomatic initiative has been formulated.

The Gemayel regime, desperate to assert its weakening power over advancing nationalist forces in Beirut and in the mountains, called on the air force to overfly the capital in a dawn display of force, September 15.

(for a day-by-day account, see page 2).

CAWL MARKS THE MASSACRE

The Committee Against the War in Lebanon (CAWL) issued a press release, September 15, detailing their activities for the anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

The press release called last year's massacre of hundreds of Palestinians and Lebanese at the south Beirut camps "a crossroads for Israel and part of the Israeli regime's way of dealing with the Palestinian issue." The release asserted that "there is no military solution to the Palestinian problem."

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Sunday, August 28 - a quiet, hot Sunday afternoon in Beirut. Toward sunset, in the southern neighbourhoods inhabited prevalently by poor Shi'ite refugees from the bombed and now occupied south, Amal militants stick up posters calling on the population to participate massively in the strike and demonstrations scheduled for Wednesday, August 28 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the disappearance of their spiritual leader, Imam Musa Sadr.

In one of these neighbourhoods, Hal Sellum, tension is slowly mounting. There, as in the Druze Shouf region, Phalangist militiamen who had penetrated in the wake of the Israeli invasion of the Lebanese capital harass the population.

As people gather in clusters

PHALANGISTS KILL CIVILIANS

by Livia Rokach
our special correspondent

to read the posters, a commando unit of five armed Phalangist settlers drives rapidly past them, shooting wildly from the car. Two men fall to the ground in a pool of blood. The others, joined by men and women who come running from every direction, pursue the attackers on foot. A hundred metres down the road there is a Lebanese army road-block. The military let the Phalangist attackers pass, then quickly close the road and start shooting at the approaching crowd. There cannot be a more open, public, concrete and unmistakable proof of the full

collusion between the two arms of the same body, of the Phalangist nature of the army. A general revolt explodes. Within a few hours, fighting erupts throughout West Beirut. From the Shi'ite strongholds of Ouzai, Burj al-Barajneh and Chiyah to Ras Beirut, Hamra and Verdun, militia groups in subsequent waves take over control in one quarter after another, the army abandoning its position and running away.

Monday, August 29. At dawn, West Beirut is literally submerged by mortar shelling

coming from all directions. By noon, the conflict is internationally tainted, with the Italian and US multinational contingents under heavy fire and counting their first casualties. The Palestinian population of Burj al-Barajneh camp is caught in the crossfire and several injured civilians are given emergency treatment at the Italian military field hospital, but their morale is "very high," according to a senior officer of the Italian-controlled sector.

Between 10:00 am and noon, a major battle develops around Beirut airport, where a

hanger takes fire and a fighter plane of the newly reconstituted, US-made Lebanese airforce explodes. The airport is declared closed, for the third time in just over a month, after a MEA passenger plane is almost hit when touching ground and is forced to take off again. At noon, the US force goes for the first time into action, marking the beginning of a direct American military intervention in Lebanon. Cobra helicopters of the US Marine command bomb from the air what are allegedly two resistance artillery positions near Shu'eifat, along the Khalde-Shouf road, in a declared effort to "vindicate" the killing of two Marines and the wounding of six others during the morning's shelling of the airport. However, less than two hours later, the battle in this sector would ignite again.

LNM DEFENDS LEBANESE SHOUF MOUNTAINS

September 8

At 11:50 am, a new phase has begun in the Lebanon war as the US frigate Bowen openly escalated the American intervention by firing 5-inch artillery shells from 120 cannons against Druze positions which were attacked at the same time by the airport-stationed Marine Corps with a barrage of 155 Howitzer fire.

The American shelling from sea and land coincided, significantly, with two other events - first, the completion by the Lebanese Army of its entrenchment in Souq al-Gharb, and secondly, with the official request advanced by President Amin Gemayel that the multinational forces should proceed to occupy the mountain positions formerly held by Israel and presently held by the resistance, as well as "other positions in the Shouf."

At the moment in which the Bowen started shelling the Druze positions, a group of Italian reporters was visiting the frigate *perseo* and given explanations on the functioning of the electronic equipment aboard which permits them to trace the course of fire exchanges at a distance. Their testimony is particularly illuminating because it clarifies beyond any possible doubt that the so-called relations by Western forces stationed in Beirut are carried out without the least documented proof regarding the actual source of the shelling which hits these forces and to which they allegedly retaliate. In fact, after viewing the hits received by the airport and the US command at the moment in which they occurred, on the electronic screen (but not the sources of these hits, which set an oil storage depositary on fire but caused no casualties), the group was told that each of the 17 naval units stationed along the Beirut beach, including the nuclear-powered *Eisenhower* and *Foch*, has been assigned a series of targets to hit "in case of necessity." The Bowen fired on its pre-scheduled targets, allegedly hitting "one or more Druze artillery batteries," according to the Marine spokesman. But the shells that were previously seen hitting the airport came, according to the testimonies of the Italian reporters group, from various directions at the same time

and on no account could be attributed with certainty to Druze artillery.

The predominating version in Beirut has been that the US naval fire is directed to no other purpose than to boost the morale of the Lebanese troops and encourage them to continue to resist in Souq al-Gharb and to advance into the mountains towards Kefun and Elit. The fact is, however, that following this method of indiscriminate "reprisals," concentrations of civilian populations will inevitably soon also become targets of these blind long-distance shelling.

At the same time, the Western offensive has also followed another directive, that of a massive propaganda campaign along two axes: first, belittling the autonomous combat of the Druze and in general the Lebanese national resistance and attributing the conflict to the intervention of "foreign agents," Syria and the Palestinians; and secondly, building up artificial, inconsistent "humanitarian" cases, such as that of Deir al-Qamar, where some thousands of disbanded Phalangists who escaped from their mountain positions are described as "40,000 refugees in desperate conditions." The goals of this campaign are: to exercise pressure on Syria; to obtain a cease-fire in order to stop the advance of the resistance forces while intensifying military preparations to overturn the achievements of the latter in the past week; to obtain vast political and public consent for an all-out intervention of NATO's multinational force, publicly transforming its role from the declared one of a "peace force" into that of a "war force," as it was in fact originally but covertly conceived by the involved Western powers.

September 9

Believe it or not, US fighter-bomber F-14 aircraft are now flying over Deir al-Qamar, pressed upon on all sides by the resistance forces, for no other reason, according to the official spokesman, than "to collect a humanitarian documentation on the situation of the refugees." Also, obviously for humanitarian scopes, "the biggest air-transport of military material to the Middle East since the 1973 war," according to the Pentagon, reaches

the naval force in front of Beirut and is embarked on the shore with amphibious vehicles.

Today, however, the Druze forces have occupied the foremost strategic junction between the Shouf and Aley regions of Beit al-Dine, traditional summer seat of Lebanese presidents, among others. With this conquest, the achievements of the resistance forces within the past 48 hours amount to 59 villages and townships in the Aley region and 20 in the Shouf region occupied and recuperated from the Phalangists. Similar successes prove unbearable to the Western powers, and the French Super-Estandards resume their raids, at dawn, over the Druze lines.

If their involvement continues, the multinational forces will have to leave. We are in any case fed up with foreign warships parading in front of our coast," is Jumblatt's immediate reaction. As the resistance fighting and shelling becomes more pressing at Khalde, Deir al-Qamar and Souq al-Gharb, in Beirut the Gemayel regime clamps down an Israeli-style censorship on the local press. News, articles and photos will from today have to be submitted for approval, no white spaces to indicate censorship are allowed, the list of prohibited arguments is long and ponderous: no reference is allowed to confessional conflicts, to military developments, to the division of Beirut, in addition to the criminalisation of any word or image to be considered damaging to the security of the state, the prestige of the president and the honour of the army. But tension in Beirut is perceptibly on the rise.

September 10

Military operations intensified in the Shouf mountains and transferred to Kharoub province west between Damour and the Awali river, where battles in the villages of Barja, Shaham, Jiya, Ain Hour and Dibbiyeh were reported.

Druze fighters took over Ain Hour and Barja and advanced to Dibbiyeh. The PSP militiamen are moving toward Saadiyat, along the coast 20 kilometres south of Beirut and Mishraf, the largest Phalangist military position. The advance would isolate Damour.

September 11

Armed clashes occur around the Bristol Hotel in Hamra, West Beirut, where the army attempts to dislodge Druze refugees who had found shelter in an old decrepit hotel nearby. As of this morning, Margaret Thatcher's Buccaneer RAF joins the American and French air forces in frequent "surveillance missions" over Beirut and the areas liberated by the resistance, whose forces continue, however, to advance. Gemayel holds a press conference for journalists of the multinational force countries and relaunches an appeal for an enlargement. He tells them that a Lebanese army artillery position is firing at mountain targets from the courtyard of the presidential palace, which, in turn, is surrounded by large bomb craters.

According to Lebanese police, the total number of casualties in the past week, since the Israeli pullback from the Shouf, amounts to 700 dead and over 1200 wounded. The figure is exclusively "registered" casualties.

September 12

The Druze offensive has reached the gates of Beirut. Today, resistance spokesmen affirmed that over 85 percent of the Shouf region is firmly under the control of their forces. While a part of these forces is deploying, so as to isolate it on the south-eastern flank with the occupation of Bhamdoun and Aley, another part is moving southwest, with the battles concentrating on the Mediterranean coast. Just over a year after the PLO evacuation of Beirut, the Lebanese capital is now besieged by the resistance forces, who can count, at the opportune moment, on Shi'ite Amal and other resistance groups in the southern periphery to join hands with them. The situation has appeared critical enough to the Israelis to induce them to perform today a first direct intervention since the redeployment of their forces a week ago, in support of their Phalangist friends and allies. A column of fifteen Israeli tanks has in fact made its appearance in Jiyeh, adjacent to Damour on the coast, at the very moment at which the Druze combatants reached the locality's gates. Shortly before, the Israeli Air Force threatened to intervene if resistance shelling. Meanwhile, over two thousand

of Deir al-Qamar continued. US Marines ordered by Reagan a week ago to sail to Lebanon arrived in Beirut aboard three warships equipped with 105 mm artillery and vertical take-off aircraft, thus doubling the American force involved in this war.

Visitors to the perimeter of the US Marine positions in Khalde airport have in fact verified today that the latter's deployment, disposed in the form of a triangle, is directed to attack on one side Amal positions and on another side Druze positions, while offering cover to the Lebanese army on the third flank. According to multinational forces sources in Beirut, the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *New Jersey*, ordered last week to sail to Lebanon from Central America, where it participated in the siege on Nicaragua, is due in Beirut's waters within a matter of hours.

The official Lebanese radio reported that Lebanese army and American Marines military positions in Beirut were caught in a bombardment which included Beirut airport, Ouzai and the Khalde triangle. Beirut Radio reported that the Lebanese army posts were bombed periodically in Souq al-Gharb. The rightist Voice of Lebanon reported that fierce battles raged in Qabr Chamoun area, leaving four dead and 30 injured.

Meanwhile the Phalange militia sent reinforcements via the Junieh port to the Shouf coast extending from Rmaile to Naame. The US Marines spokesman reported that the American "Tomcat" plane made reconnaissance flights over the Shouf, precipitating a military spokesman of the PSP to accuse the Marines of openly supporting the rightists.

The pro-Israeli separatist Sa'ad Haddad revealed his intention to move his forces to the mountains to prevent what he described as "the return of the Palestinians to Beirut."

September 13

US President Reagan ordered Marines commanders in Beirut to wage air raids on the military positions of the Progressive Socialist Party fighters in the Shouf area, in spite of the danger of bombarding the Syrian forces as well.

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EARLY GAZA DEMONSTRATIONS

There were demonstrations in Jabaliya, Khan Yunis, Bureij and Maghazi refugee camps in the Gaza Strip, September 14, to commemorate the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres, which falls on September 17.

Demonstrators set tyres alight and hoisted Palestinian flags on buildings. Israeli troops which were summoned to the refugee camps in large numbers chased youths in the streets and in nearby citrus groves.

Secondary school students' demonstrations started one day earlier in Jabaliya refugee camp and in Beit Hanoun. Reports from the Strip said that at least six youths from the Beit Hanoun agricultural school were arrested as they fled from soldiers.

Informed sources in Gaza said that students began protests early because schools are scheduled to be on *al-Adha* feast holiday between September 16 to 19. (Translation: *Al Itihad*, September 15, 1983).

BIREH MAYOR BARRED FROM TOWN CONVENTION

The second annual conference for native residents of al-Bireh who now live in the US was held in Washington DC, between August 19 and 21. Israeli military authorities stopped Ibrahim Tawil, the elected mayor of the city, from attending.

The conference, modelled on the highly successful annual Ramallah convention, was at-

tended by more than 1400 delegates from various parts of the United States. They discussed the present situation of the al-Bireh community in the US and ways of strengthening ties. They also debated ways to help their home town.

Ibrahim Tawil told *Al Fair* that he received an invitation but was refused an exit permit to Jordan.

Soldier wounded in Gaza

One Israeli soldier was wounded during a grenade attack on military government headquarters in Gaza, September 12.

Israel Radio, which reported the incident, said the grenade was thrown at the military compound on Monday night, from a speeding car. The report said

that the soldier was guarding 'civil administration' headquarters.

The incident is the most serious of a number of attacks during recent months. Since the beginning of the year, there were two reported attacks against Israeli targets in Gaza in which two settlers were killed.

Faithful barred from Hebron mosque

The military governor of Hebron summoned the West Bank director of *waqf* institutes, Hassan Tahboub, and the chairman of Ibrahim Mosque guards in Hebron September 6, and issued them with a list of scheduled prayer times for Israeli Jews. The governor requested the *waqf* to take out two loud-speakers from each minaret during Jewish prayers, particularly for those calling Muslims to sunset and evening prayers.

The *waqf* reportedly refused the procedures and told the military in no uncertain terms that the Ibrahim Mosque is Islamic and that double functioning is forbidden.

According to the military

schedule, the Israelis will perform 50 hours of prayer on nine days between September 7 and 29. The *waqf* says that if they are implemented, Muslims will be unable to worship on Fridays or during the four days of *Id al-Adha*.

The *waqf* (Islamic Supreme Council) described the steps as "unprecedented procedures, not approved by any law or religion" and "a frank violation of the freedom of worship."

The *waqf* sent copies of the statement to the Israeli prime minister, the interior minister, the coordinator of the occupied territories affairs and the United Nations secretary general.

FINED FOR FINGER

An Israeli military court in Jenin fined a local youth IS30,000 after convicting him of pointing a finger at an Israeli soldier.

Sufyun Mohammed Shataiyeh, from Jenin camp, was convicted on the testimony of a

soldier who said the youth pointed the offending finger at him while he was on patrol in the city two weeks ago. The judge called the youth's gesture "anti-Semitic."

The sentence is the first one of its kind.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 176, September 16, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	29
Number of articles totally censored out	7
Number of articles partially censored but used	2
Number of articles passed	20

Banning order against Palestinian political prisoner extended

After a closed military court in Gaza, the military governor extended, September 7, the banning order against Abd al-Aziz Shahin (Abu Ali) for another six months. The military court called Shahin a "person possessing dangerous potential." Shahin has been exiled to Dunieh in the south of the Strip for the past four months. He is not allowed to see or speak to visitors and must remain inside his military-specified accommodation at night.

Shahin's lawyer, Khaled Qadra, told *Al Fair* that the Israeli occupation authorities "did not have justification or reason" for the order. He said he will appeal to the Military Objectives Committee, calling for the decision to be revoked. If it fails, he plans to appeal to the Israeli High Court in Jerusalem.

Neither Qadra nor Shahin were allowed to sit in at the military court session.

A three-judge Military Objectives Committee turned down an appeal, August 29, by Shahin for the cancellation of his previous exile order. The military court then gave the military governor in Gaza a free hand to decide Abu Ali's fate after the end of that period of exile.

Israel is known to have been angered by Shahin's intractability, even after 15 years in jail which ended last year. He told his lawyer that he was a Palestinian "practicing his right to express political opinions in public. I am not an extremist. I only demand the exercise of the Palestinians' right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state."

The Israeli media, in their stories on the latest banning, have started describing Shahin as a "former deputy of Yasir Arafat," the PLO executive committee chairman.

Shahin, in his late 30s, was released in September 1982 from prison after serving a 15-year sentence and was immediately placed under town arrest in Rafah. He was exiled, May 11, from his Rafah home to a fenced camp in Dunieh, near the Israeli-Egyptian border. He was allowed no contact with the outside world except by explicit permission of the military governorate.

According to sources close to the Shahin family, Abu Ali was visited recently by a senior Shin Bet officer who told him that the only way for him to go out of Dunieh would be to agree to leave the country. Shahin suffers from ulcers, spinal cord damage and partial paralysis.

MILITARY 'CIVIL ADMINISTRATOR' PREACHES TO UNIVERSITY HEADS

Representatives of Bir Zeit, Najah, Bethlehem and Abu Dis Universities met Shlomo Elia, head of the 'civil administration', September 12, to discuss university problems. Israel is continuing with a controversial plan to impose a "loyalty oath" on foreign academics.

The academic institutions' representatives, Hikmat Masri, the head of *al-Badwa* University Board of Trustees, Dr Abd al-Latif Barghouti, Dean of Academic Affairs at Bir Zeit

University, Anton Sansour, chairman of Bethlehem University, and Suheir Karmi, the chairman of the Board of Trustees at the Science College at Abu Dis, were summoned by telephone to Elia's office for a one-hour meeting.

Barghouti called the gathering "a routine meeting which is convened every year before or at the beginning of the academic year." Participants reported that Elia demanded they maintain quiet at West Bank academic institutes.

Elia said there will be no work permits for foreign teachers unless they sign a controversial work permit application in which they undertake not to support any hostile organisation. Last year, attempts to enforce the permit, which includes an anti-PLO pledge, led to the expulsion of dozens of teachers and a disruption of academic work at all institutes.

Hikmat Masri requested a permit for additional university buildings.

PRISONERS EXPERIMENTED ON

Palestinian detainees in Ashkelon prison issued a statement, September 9, condemning the discriminatory policies of the prison authorities against them, particularly those dealing with health matters.

The statement said the prisoners are used as subjects of medical experiments, while being

denied basic medical treatment.

Prisoners called on all institutions to intervene to save the lives of Khadder Hassan Qattami, suffering from skin cancer, and Fayed Badawi, who has leukemia. Both have been in jail for months, but have received no medical attention, the statement said.

They were not told of their serious condition until recently, not in consideration of their feelings, the statement said, but to keep them for experimentation.

The statement urged national and international groups to offer whatever they can to help these two prisoners. Translation: *Al Itihad*, September 9.)

PIONEER MUSLIM - CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

Over 35 Palestinian academics and theologians crowded the Ecumenical Institute at Tan-tour for the first Christian and Muslim Heritage Conference, September 9-12.

The unique conference, the first of what organisers hope will become an annual event, centred on ways of improving relations between members of both religions. At its close, delegates issued important recommendations intended, they said, to strengthen relations between members of both religions. The delegates said in the statement, "Faith in one God and national unity is important in order to preserve our heritage and accomplish a just peace and the attainment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people on their holy land."

They appealed to Christian and Muslim researchers and lec-

turers to present their religions "as they came in their sources;" to encourage unified acts aimed at strengthening ties between Christian and Muslim Arabs; to conduct unified forums for religious teachers in schools and colleges, and to publish a single Arabic book informing people of Christian and Muslim holy places.

The conference statement also called for preachers and instructors to work with reciprocal respect for each other's religion. They plan to gather an Arabic bibliography for books and articles on the subject of Christian and Muslim dialogue.

The conference itself heard papers by leading Christians and Islamic experts on the holy land in Christian and Islamic doctrine and on mutual perception. There were also forums on Islam and Christianity and coexistence.

Tantour centre member Jiriyis Khoury told *Al Fair* that heritage encompasses many things other than religion and that the conference aimed to strengthen "ties between our people by understanding and knowledge of each other's religious and social traditions and customs."

Khoury said this first conference of its kind in the region comes at a time when the situation between Christians and Muslims in Palestine "is fine despite the fact that there are extreme trends on both sides which attempt to ruin the unity of our people." He called on religious leaders to "act firmly" against extremists. He said his personal dream is that Christian and Muslim Arabs everywhere live in common respect and understanding.

Lawyers sit in to protest Israel meddling with court

Palestinian working lawyer broke silence for the first time since the occupation of the West Bank in 1967 and held a sit-in strike at the civilian court compound in Ramallah, September 12, to protest systematic Israeli policies which have, they said, "diminished the responsibilities of the judicial system in the occupied region." They struck after formal approaches to the authorities were ignored.

During their protest, the lawyers presented a list of 17 demands to the Israeli 'civil administrator' of Ramallah, Mizyed Abbas, aimed at reforming the judicial system and easing restrictions on residents. The sit-in protest, which convened in the lawyers room at the court compound, was attended by more than 70 Palestinian lawyers who flocked to Ramallah from various points of the West Bank. The protest, part of a two-day work suspension, was provoked, lawyer representatives said, by recently issued Military Order 1060, which transfers land cases to military courts and hikes legal fees.

In a statement published by the Committee of Arab Lawyers, which led the protest, Palestinian lawyers analysed a number of military orders which served to "seize the jurisdiction of local courts and impose cultural and economic siege on residents."

The 22-page statement, which was signed by 120 lawyers, 75 percent of the working lawyers in the West Bank, contained examples of how successive military orders have, in their words, illegally altered Jordanian laws which were in force when Israel occupied in 1967. The statement analysed the effect of these changes on everyday life.

On the issue of land, the military authorities legislated a number of military orders, all designed to make transferring of land to Israeli hand easier, the statement read. The lawyers listed five military orders, each of which granted the military authorities control over certain procedures.

Military Order 25, for example, established military governorate control over the purchase and sale of land and other real estate. This was followed by Military Order 58, which assigned an Israeli officer to be in charge of properties abandoned for var-

ious reasons by owners. The Israeli officer, who later became known as the custodian of absentee property, was also granted absolute authority over the property.



The most serious and harmful "legislative measure," which was what triggered the lawyers' protest, was Military Order 1060. Lawyers pointed out that according to articles 6 and 7 of Jordanian law, two committees — a preliminary committee and a committee of appeals — have the authority to register land and hear objections. The law, however, mandates the court system as the final arbiter of disputes.

Since occupation, the statement pointed out, Israeli military authorities have issued three military orders which alter the composition and function of the preliminary committee. Military Order 1034 put an Israeli appointed by the head of the 'civil administration' in the place of the magistrate court judge designated as chairperson by Jordanian law. Military Order 448 established the Military Objections Committee, which is composed entirely of Israeli officers and empowered to hear objections to registration of any given land plot (this committee later replaced the committee of appeals). Then came 1060, which removed land cases from the legal sphere.

The working lawyers' statement severely attacked Military Order 1060, describing it as "contradictory to Jordanian law." The statement explained that the military order represents an infringement on the Jordanian constitution, which separates the judicial system from the legislator and subordinates both bodies to the constitution.

The statement also charged that the military order represents an infringement on the right of people to obtain their rights through courts. "Should a law contradict the supreme principles of the constitution, even if it did not contradict a specific article of it, the legislation is null and void, for it is a misuse of legislative authority," the statement read.

The advocates' complaints also stated the abolition of the supreme court by Military Order 412; the military order which allows Israeli lawyers to appear before local courts, the 28-fold increase in court fees and powers given to the regional military governor to suspend investigations and court hearings.

Among other issues, the statement also deals with orders restricting cultivation of certain trees and vegetables, and the restriction on "exports" to Jerusalem. It also dealt with restrictions on printing and distributing of books and other publications.

Working lawyers, who are the last professional group to express opposition to Israeli authorities' practices, began arriving at the Ramallah court compound in the early morning. They were met by military officials, who tried to stop the protest before it started.

The protest continued till 12:00 noon, during which a delegation of seven lawyers representing the 70 protesting barristers met the 'civilian governor' of Ramallah, Mizyed Abbas, and handed him a copy of the statement.

Ali Ghazlan, a Jerusalem lawyer and spokesman for the delegation who met the Israeli official, said that the 'civilian governor' promised to convey their demands to the 'civil administration' head. Commenting on the effect of the strike, Ghazlan said that it served to expose Israeli violations of individual and human rights to the public. He said the protest would be the start of further activities against military orders which contradict existing Jordanian laws.

Ibrahim Barghouthi, one of the seven committee members, said the strike had achieved its objectives. "We did not retreat and we succeeded in conveying our demands to the authorities," he said.

The lawyers' statement indicated that the Committee of Arab Lawyers has sent three letters in the past month to the officer responsible for the legal system, demanding a meeting in order to discuss their complaints. However, they received no answer.

complete its term.

The NRP, Agudat Yisrael and Tami met the next day with the Alignment and discussed the possibility of forming a new government under the leadership of the Alignment. Alignment sources told Israeli journalists, "The fact that these parties meet with us proves that Shamir still has problems." While officials from the Likud said, "Our partners started to lose their patience and conduct, along with the Alignment, a psychological war against us," Israeli newspapers

Palestinian Druze unite to Support Lebanese nationalists

Progressive and traditional leaders of the Palestinian Druze residents in Israel joined, this week, in announcing full backing to the Progressive Socialist Party and the Lebanese National Salvation Front in their battles against "Phalangist attempts to spread control over the Shouf mountains." Druze leaders have also been in contact with leaders of local Christian communities after the attacks on private homes in Isfiya and Mghar, both mixed Druze-Christian villages in the Galilee.

Nearly 10,000 attended the celebrations held at the shrine of the Nabi Sabalan in Hurefsh, September 10. It turned into a political demonstration in support of the PSP and its head Walid Jumblatt. After the traditional religious ceremony, Sheikh Amin Tarif, spiritual leader of the Druze community here, made a speech expressing support for the national forces in Lebanon against the Phalangists and the sectarian Lebanese government. Sheikh Tarif called for an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and the suspension of military aid to the Phalangists.

The religious leader also read a letter sent by Sheikh Mohammed Abu Shaqra, spiritual leader of the Druze community in Lebanon, denying allegations of Palestinian participation in the fighting there.

Tarif was supported by two other traditional Druze leaders, Fadel Mansour of the Druze Academic Committee, and Zaidan Atshah, member of the Shinui party.

The crowd, who made occasional pro-Jumblatt chants, were then addressed by former Syrian parliament member Kamal Kanj, a Druze leader from the Syrian Golan, who declared that the war in Lebanon was a war "against foreign intervention and hegemony on Lebanon." He said the National Salvation Front is made up of Christians, Muslims and Druze. Kanj also called for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon.

The Druze Initiative Committee, which holds a progressive nationalist position, said in a statement issued September 7, two days after the start of the present round of fighting, that

the Israeli government and its Phalangist allies are responsible for the fighting and for the massacres in the Shouf mountains.

"Israel, the Phalange, the sectarian Lebanese army and the US Marines are now waging a desperate attempt to enter the Shouf mountains and liquidate the Lebanese nationalist forces," the statement read.

It also charged that the Israeli-supported Phalangist forces committed a massacre at the Druze village of Kufr Matta, where 44 civilians, including Sheikh Gharib Masoud, the Druze religious head of the village, and his family were killed.

The statement expressed confidence that the nationalist Lebanese forces, "with the aid of national liberation, peace, and socialist forces, (would) be triumphant in the battle."

Progressive and traditional leaders have also been working hand in hand for confronting recent attempts to stir religious conflict in Galilee villages. Representatives of the Druze Initiative Committee *Al Audeh*, movement which represents residents of the predominantly Catholic village of Kufr Birim, and the Jish movement, which represents Maronite residents there, held a meeting in Haifa September 12 to discuss the war in Lebanon and recent attacks against Christian and Druze families in Isfiya.

Last week, a hand grenade was hurled by unidentified people at the house of Yusef Mbaddi Rohana, a Druze resident. A few days earlier, the house of a Christian resident from the same village, Elias Naim Halon, was fired at.

Despite the fact that the two incidents did not result in any casualties, they were perceived by Palestinian nationalists, both Christians and Druze, as "the work of outside agents."

In the statement issued at the end of the meeting in Haifa, representatives of the three movements "condemned all that the Israeli authorities are trying to spread around in order to strike at the unity of Arab residents in Israel."

Fighters and Victims of Nazism", approached Israeli President Chaim Herzog September 12 and asked if he was going to approve the appointment of Yitzhak Shamir as prime minister, "about whom it has been written on several occasions and documented in Israel that he intended on behalf of the organisation he belonged to (Stern Gang -ed.) to make efforts to reach a treaty with the official representatives of Nazi Germany during World War II." Translation: Al Hamishmar, September 13, 1983)

Coalition parties reluctantly back Shamir

The Likud and its smaller parties in the coalition, the National Religious Party, Agudat Yisrael, Tami and maverick MK Haim Druckman signed an agreement to form a new coalition under the leadership of Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, September 12, after intensified efforts.

"But," Yediot Aharanot said, "the representatives of the small parties who signed the agreement with reluctance failed to bridge the gap." It added that a very few people who were in the signing ceremony believed that the government which Shamir is supposed to form can

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A MASSACRE PHOTOGRAPHED

Palestinians have become legendary for seeing a silver lining in the thickest darkest rain cloud, even when they have been drenched with disaster. The more right wing the American president, the clearer the contradictions between the US democratic face and its militaristic skeleton. Pick a professor for Israeli defence minister and you will force Jewish liberal intellectuals to come to terms with the real Israel. Expulsion from Lebanon will toughen the movement. Dire economic conditions in the occupied territories will galvanise action from all sectors of the people. Annexation of the West Bank and Gaza is only the formalising of the existing oppressive situation — and it will mean bankruptcy for the Israeli treasury. Settler vigilantism must necessarily be supported by the government in every increasing strength until the collusion will soon be too obvious for *who?* to tolerate.

And with each exposure of injustice, Palestinians believe justice is that much closer. That's why we publish newspapers. Optimism — in the face of facts — is a natural characteristic.

Sabra and Shatila. Two refugee camps in Lebanon that were, for a moment, very important to the world. Like Qarantina, or Tel al-Za'atar or Rashidiya before them. But what made the world unable to ignore Sabra and Shatila were the pilgrimages by journalists, the silence of the murdered innocents captured on photographs, the wails of mourning women begging cameras to bring their dead back to life. It was difficult not to see or hear or feel Sabra and Shatila last summer. It was an embarrassment for Israel and for the Phalangists because it was exposed, not because it happened. And the world took note because it was forced to, not because it sought out the facts.

Still, Palestinians everywhere — who knew the massacres were no anomaly — took heart that Sabra and Shatila was soundly condemned outside. The horrifying deaths of hundreds, some calculate thousands, are monuments to the situation of Palestinians today: a people thrown from their homeland, with no protecting force, no land, no future, prey to the racism and hatred and political pacts of their enemies. Yet a people stalwart and visionary.

In fact, we can find no silver lining, no glimmer about Sabra and Shatila. Only that there are some forms of exterminating a people that still violate the world's conscience.

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ONE YEAR LATER

"After the massacre the guilty have prospered and the innocent have suffered"

by Hanna Assadi

It is now one year since the massacre at the two south Beirut refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. The frightful three-day orgy of killing which claimed uncounted hundreds of Palestinian and Lebanese lives implicated the US, the Israelis and the present regime in Lebanon — all have managed successfully in the succeeding 12 months to cover the blood on their hands.

The prelude to the disaster began as far back as the August withdrawal of Palestinian forces from Beirut. The PLO left after receiving written assurances from the United States that Palestinian civilians would be protected. The US ignored its promises and as soon as the PLO was gone the ground was laid for the massacre when the Marines retreated to their ships.

Israel moved in and gained control of the west part of Beirut after the assassination of Phalangist president-elect Bashir Gemayel, September 14. With the Palestinian fighters gone, the tanks which had tried for nine weeks to breach the city's defences simply rolled along the main streets. Nationalist forces put up stiff resistance but they were heavily out-gunned.

With their defenders gone, Sabra and Shatila residents could do little but watch the Israelis surround them. What followed is not precisely known. Israel, the power responsible for the security of the camps, has had its inquiry — without telling anyone who let the killers into the refugee camps.

Earlier this year an eager Western press was treated to the conclusion of a commission of inquiry. Its conclusions are now dead letter so far as Israeli politicians are concerned. While Sabra and Shatila residents came forward with proof (dog-tags) and eyewitnesses to testify that Israelis were in the camp, the commission found that no one knew why or what was going on.

Israeli look-out posts over the camp were said to have been unable to spot anything, even under the flares fired during darkness. No official note was taken of the sound of executions; the screams of the raped, the mutilated and the dying were not heard.

In short, no one knew anything about what was going on until BBC reporters got there.

Now, one year later, what has happened to the two politicians singled out for blame by the Israeli commission? Yitzhak Shamir, the foreign minister, was singled out for criticism. He had been telephoned by a fellow minister in mid-massacre with reports — from an Israeli journalist — that the killing was underway. He ignored them.

Today Shamir is Herut's prime minister designate and nothing is being said about his past history. Nor was anything said about the

record of his rival for leadership, David Levy — the only man to voice reservations about sending Phalangists into refugee camps.

The man who paid the supreme political price for his part in the massacre, Ariel Sharon, is plotting his comeback. Sharon is said to have thrown his not inconsiderable weight behind Shamir in the Herut poll and is looking for the chairmanship of the ministerial settlement committee as pay-off. Some colleagues are unhappy about this but no one is saying it definitely will not happen.

Sharon has already started his climb back to power. He launched, September 13, a blistering attack on his successor Moshe Arens. Observers expect him to get what mileage he can from the debacle, from an Israeli point of view, currently unfolding in Lebanon. In Israeli politics, responsibility for a massacre is no block to a career.

Another man out to prove that is Raphael Eitan. He escaped being dismissed as chief-of-staff because he was retiring anyway. Since he left the army he's been wooed by the extreme right in the Knesset, has thrown himself into trying to build a movement based on right wing populism and is getting around to dropping his vow not to enter politics.

His former subordinates in regional posts and military intelligence have left the army.

In Lebanon the Phalangists, whose foot soldiers did the dirty work, are now in government. This being so, their men in the Lebanese Forces line up alongside the Lebanese army in current battles against progressive forces. The Marines are now back in the city, and gun boats and F-4s — this time in official US garb — shell the coastline again.

And the Palestinian civilians in Sabra and Shatila?

They have had a tough year. After the massacre the Lebanese army and police conducted a concerted campaign of arrest and detention (many disappeared). Hospitals were looted by uniformed men and threats of willing or unwilling expulsion were frequently made by rightists in government, or out of it.

They seem to have been given some respite with the latest outbreak of violence. Late reports said the Amal Shi'ite militias were holding a line north of their homes against the combined might of the Lebanese army and forces.

After the massacre the guilty have prospered and the innocent have suffered. Should camp residents be in a position to defend themselves after the present turmoil, it is unthinkable that they would willingly surrender to the local or multinational criminals around them.



by Jonathan Kuttab

Palestinians were angered but not really surprised on Tuesday, July 26, when masked gunmen opened fire on students and teachers at the Islamic University in Hebron, in the West Bank, killing three people and injuring more than 30. The incident confirms and encourages widespread Palestinian fears of Jewish vigilante violence — and of the possibility that Israel may intend one day to expel all Palestinians from the West Bank, using whatever means are available to drive us across the river into Jordan.

Those Israelis who wish to annex the West Bank and Gaza have until now been deterred by demography — by the existence of 1.2 million Palestinians whose absorption would dilute the Jewish character of Israel. Instead, the Israeli government is trying to change the face of the territories — dehumanising the Palestinian inhabitants, restricting our economy and organisations and, of course, resettling the land.

The Jews in the West Bank have already developed a kind of mini-state — their own public services, separate government administration, effectively segregated roads, water and sewage systems, separate courts and an ambitious, exclusive, economic development programme. Thus these settlers, who share our land, are divided from us by *de facto* apartheid.

Meanwhile, steps have been taken to curb not only our nationalist feeling and politics but also our economic development. Our own public services — health, education, justice and agricultural assistance programmes — have been allowed to deteriorate. The private sector is greatly hampered by military orders regulating water use, imports, exports, planting and the transfer of money from abroad. Labor unions, cooperatives, charitable societies, schools and universities are also strictly controlled.

The result is that our economy is



THE REAL THREAT OF EXPULSION

now totally dependent on Israel's: We are a protected market for its goods and a pool of cheap labour for its factories. Only the subsidies we receive from the Arab world — now reduced by military orders — have permitted a veneer of conspicuous consumption to hide the way our economy is crumbling.

But now extremist groups in Israel seem to want to go further — to speed up the Judaisation of the territories with the goal of annexing them.

These Jews' radical solution to the demographic problem is the forcible evacuation of the Palestinian population — and they openly discuss plans for our

expulsion. They are waiting for an emergency — war or civil uprising — that will spread panic among Palestinians, causing us to leave on our own.

But in case this does not occur, the extremists are also considering efforts to force us eastward across the river — and they expect that the Israeli military government of the territories would silently acquiesce. Most Israelis, their government and its supporters abroad would presumably disclaim responsibility and denounce the vigilantes, but, the extremists hope, they would not permit the evacuated Palestinians to return.

It sounds farfetched, but to Pales-

tinians in the territories the threat seems all too real.

Civilian settlers have demanded a greater role in enforcing order in the areas where they live, calling openly for deportation of families of trouble-making youths. Israelis from the territories have been withdrawn from reserve units in the regular army and reorganised into Regional Defence Units charged with controlling the Arab villages near their settlements during a war or emergency.

In areas where settlers have taken on the task of enforcing law and order, they have established a terrifying record of lawless violence against Palestinians, who must turn to the military government for protection. Less extreme Israelis are being inured to the violence by an insidious dehumanisation of Palestinians that occurs when government officials call us "two legged animals" and "drugged cockroaches in a bottle."

The notion of expelling Palestinians began to take on a frightening currency when one official said that Israel made a mistake in not deporting 200,000 to 300,000 Arabs in 1967, and when another revealed a contingency plan — apparently still current — to carry out such deportation during war or emergency. The political campaign asserting that "Jordan is the Palestinian state" seeks to cloak expulsion in the guise of justice and historical legitimacy.

The mood among Palestinians is highly volatile — frightened, confused, fatalistic, resentful, at times even hysterical. The extremist plan to expel us from the territories may seem incredible, but to us it looks more plausible every day. The longer Israel retains the territories and denies our national aspirations, the quicker such horrible plans will become not only possible but inevitable. (Reprinted from The New York Times, August 1, 1983).

To the Editor of Arabic Al Fajr:

I, Hani Ali Mohammed Abu Ali, was born in Rafah, Palestine, and still live there. I have never changed my address at any time.

During the Israeli census in Rafah City in 1981, I was surprised that I was registered by mistake as an inhabitant of Tel al-Rafah (Canada) camp, although my Israeli ID card and all my other credentials state that I live in Block C Building No. 61, and show that I was never a resident of Tel al-Rafah.

"Are Israelis getting a good night's sleep?" asks *The Jerusalem Post*.

The question is being answered that more than 300,000 Israelis regularly take sleeping tablets and about 800,000 suffer from some sort of sleep disorder.

Being a tourist with open eyes, I think I do understand now why many Israelis must take to pills and tranquilisers in order not to see the bloody everyday realities of their policies.

The Knesset is the first parliament building I have seen fenced with barbed

MISTAKEN RESIDENCY



As a result of this (discrepancy — ed.), I was arrested on March 15, 1983. Eighty-two days later I was released through the court. I then contacted the office of the interior ministry in Rafah to get my ID back, since the police gave

me a receipt instead of the card. The receipt stipulated that I must not leave the Gaza Strip to either Israel or to the West Bank and I had to appear every Friday at the police station. The receipt I got has no date and I don't know what

to do or to whom I should complain.

I am a second-year student at Beirut's Arab University. I was banned from travel to Egypt to sit for the exams.

Please tell me what to do.

Hani Ali Mohammed Abu Ali
ID No. 9/326303
Case No. 249/83

LOSING SLEEP ?

by Herwig Strobl Linz

and electric wires. Barking dogs guard it. The Israel Museum and the Shrine of the Book charge the highest entrance fee to any museum I have ever visited in the world (190 shekels). In Austria, where I come from, most museums are free. The lady at the ticket office said: "We are a poor country," which I believed when I saw that no Arab could afford getting in and most of the visitors were Americans.

Open discrimination against Arabs must cause nightmares to many conscientious Israelis. A leaflet in Nazareth says: "Half of the Arabs are Christians and the rest Mohammedans." I'm proud that Austria, what remains of it, was called "the rest" after World War I and that this Austria has Bruno Kreisky, who spoke out clearly for Palestinian rights and for people who were addressed as "the rest."

Taking a tour with an Egged guide, from 8:00 am until 2:00 pm, of sanctified sites on foot, you simply have to accept that Jews will not show you the mosques for those proud \$12.

Israel is real. Yes, it should be. But it should not be a nightmare for tourists and even less for people who have to live there: Israelis, Arabs and many other ethnic groups who cannot get a sound night's sleep in this country under present conditions and forced conditioning.

With the approach of the municipal elections scheduled for October 26 in Israel, the Zionist parties are intensifying their activities and preparations in the Arab villages and towns in an attempt to retain and keep control there.

As usual before a poll, agents of parties have been dispatched to the Arab sector, where they recruit and mobilise their traditional allies into lists affiliated with their parties.

In the mixed cities, besides these activities, Zionist parties in control of municipalities have sponsored petty and marginal reforms in the long-neglected Arab neighbourhoods. Any changes are accompanied by a great deal of publicity in an attempt to attract votes of Arab residents.

Efforts this year are being doubled because in the last eight years the Zionist parties have suffered severe blows as villages and the town of Nazareth elected independent councils. Most of them are run by the Independent Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), of which the Israeli Communist Party constitutes the backbone.

The turning point in the history of the Palestinian community within the 1948 borders of Israel came in 1975, when Tawfiq Zayyad replaced an Israeli Labour Party member as mayor of Nazareth.

Zayyad's victory — it was followed by the immediate severing of all statutory grants to the town — opened the floodgates. Since then, council after council has opted for independent representation — the myth that "you can't get anything unless you cooperate" was truly broken. But despite the continued shrinking of the influence of the Zionist parties in the Arab local councils, Zionist parties have not dropped their traditional policy nor changed tactics. They aspire to control, based on exploiting *hamula* (clan) loyalties in councils given by internal strife.

They have their work cut out for them. In the forthcoming elections, the challenge to the Israelis' official policy is taking even more radical forms. Radical left and nationalist movements, such as *Abna' al-Balad*, *al-Nadha* and the Progressive National Movement are running in Um al-Fahm, Arrabeh, Sakhnin, Talbeh, and Kufr Kanna. All these movements openly identify themselves with the Palestinian national struggle and identity.

Nazareth, the Main Arena

The Arab town of Nazareth is viewed by Labour and Likud alike as having the greatest political weight. The Labour Party is on record as declaring that its main enemy in the Arab sector is the Communist Party. Last month the Israeli newspapers reported that the Likud and the Labour parties are working in full understanding on the Arab sector, especially in Nazareth. Labour has formed a special committee headed by the director of its "Department of Minorities", kibbutz member Radnan Cohen, and drawn up a comprehensive plan of how to operate in the Arab sector. Cohen has been appointed supervisor of the activities of the Maarakh (Labour-Mapam alignment) in Nazareth. Part of their plan is to nominate candidates for mayoralty and council under the name of Maarakh or Labour. The door will therefore remain open for announcing lists in the name of the Mapam Party if vote-splitting looks like the best option. The plan, according to

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS PIT PALESTINIAN INDEPENDENTS AGAINST ZIONIST BRIBERY

by Awad Abdel Fattah

Israeli reports, also states that where a Maarakh list cannot stand, it will support, openly or secretly, any candidate against the DFPE.

According to the deputy mayor of Nazareth, the Likud is also running a list which will be led by an Israeli TV correspondent, and a member of the central committee of the Liberal Party in the city.



Tawfiq Zayyad. "The turning point in the history of the Palestinian community within the 1948 borders of Israel came in 1975, when Tawfiq Zayyad replaced an Israeli Labour Party member as mayor of Nazareth."

The Mafdal (National Religious) Party officially does not have any Arab members. It plans to nominate candidates only for council membership. "It will back the candidate for mayor agreed upon by the other Zionist parties," said Nazareth deputy mayor Jarayseh. He explained that the lists affiliated with the Mafdal will not run under its name but under the "disguise of family or sectarian names." The Ministry of Interior is an NRP fiefdom. It distributes largesse through jobs and grants and therefore buys a good deal of Arab support among mercenary Arab voters.

According to Salim Jubran, a Nazareth poet and member of the central committee of the Communist Party, the Maarakh, the Likud and the National Religious Party have agreed to avoid competition among themselves in the Arab sector. "The advisor to the prime minister on Arab affairs will play the role of the general coordinator between the Zionist parties, the government, the police and the Shin Bet, and will intervene in choosing the candidates," Jubran elaborated. He added that apparently the "advisor" has recommended filling Arab villages with Zionist-affiliated lists carrying "independent" labels. "The Israeli authorities," he concluded, "aim to obtain political gains by dividing our people and weakening the DFPE."

The Zionist parties and their subordinate Arab lists in Nazareth try to focus on the "deficiencies and short-

comings of the municipality." They portray the current Nazareth administration as a failing administration "because it interferes in politics." The accusation is dismissed by the municipal officials as groundless. Ramez Jarayseh said, "life can't be separated from politics," and that the municipality has pioneered huge developments since the DFPE won the 1975 elections. He brought up as an example the 1976 state comptroller's report, which said that 70 employees in the previous Maarakh-affiliated municipal administration in Nazareth received salaries without working. The report, he added, talked further of corruption and embezzlement.

Regarding the type of people who vote for Zionist parties and the reasons behind this, Jarayseh said that economic pressure has been the main factor. He explained that Arab workers, teachers who are employed in Histadrut circles and offices are often subjected to "economic intimidation" and that others are either motivated by "blind hatred" of the Communist Party or by promises of personal gain. "Although these methods have become much less effective than before," said one teacher, "they are still used by the Zionist parties."

In the Mixed Cities

The Arab vote in the mixed cities, such as Ramle, Jaffa, Lydda, Haifa and Acre, is of great importance to the Zionist parties. It is sometimes decisive in determining which of them will win the majority of votes. Currently Acre is the only mixed city with Arab representation in its municipality. As the election campaign nears, the Zionist parties have now started competing. As usual, they have made a lot of promises regarding better housing, social, educational, and health services. In the past, these have never been carried out. Taysir Ablasi, a university student and political activist from Lydda, told *Al Fajr* that several lists, but especially the "big two", affiliated with Zionist parties have been formed and are active in the Arab community in the town.

The Likud, which has held the Lydda municipality for the last eight years, has started making small reforms such as repairing some roads in the Arab quarters and installing a public telephone. "The Likud-controlled municipality," said Taysir, "has not done anything regarding the basic problems of the Arabs of Lydda, so the purpose of such marginal reforms is just to buy Arab votes."

Talking about the role of the Labour Party, Taysir said that it uses the "same opportunist methods." He pointed out that the Histadrut club in the Arab neighbourhood, which was kept closed all year, has recently been opened and some sports equipment has been provided and matches organised. "All this falls within the electoral propaganda of the Labour Party," Taysir remarked.

In the forthcoming election, for the first time, *Abna' al-Balad* and the DFPE will run for the municipal elections and both expect to win two seats. In the previous elections, the DFPE was the only independent political force which waged the elections battle against the other Zionist-tied lists in the Lydda Arab neighbourhood. In the past elections, it won 350 votes, 50 percent of the minimum votes for one seat.

According to Mohammed Haddad, a political activist from Ramle, the *democratic activities of the Zionist parties* are the main obstacle which obstructs an independent Arab or democratic party from reaching the municipalities. He elaborated on this, saying: "The promises which are made by these parties to the Arab residents are very effective. They cling to any promise, due to their terrible and miserable housing and social conditions."

Among these promises, he said, might be a construction license, or a solution to problems with the tax department or a job in governmental offices. "After the elections are over, things return to normal," he said.

ALEH to serve Jerusalem needy

by Hagop Aturian

to help rehabilitate the sick.

Among its future priorities, ALEH intends to take a more active part in the educational sphere, and hopes to offer scholarships to East Jerusalem students.

ALEH is guided by one consideration: selfless service. Its officers receive no remuneration for their services, but give freely of their time, and often of their funds.

Its offices are located on the second floor of the Columbia Hotel building, Damascus Gate, and its doors are always open to any calls for help.

The new centre is the brainchild of Australian journalist Arthur Hagopian, who was born in Jerusalem, but Meir Ronen, director of the Ronen Institute, has been the moving force behind its formation. The organisation has launched a fund-raising campaign here and abroad to help finance activities.

For further information, readers can contact Arthur at ALEH's offices or write to P.O. Box 14156, or phone 283191.

The symbol for the Association of the Levant for Humanity (ALEH) is a leaf, pulsating with life and promise and hope. The aim of this organisation is to provide humanitarian aid and services to all in need, irrespective of race, creed or colour. But although it is open to all calls for aid, it will essentially seek to serve the people of East Jerusalem, as a priority.

ALEH is officially sanctioned as a non-profit, voluntary organisation (registration number 58-003-417-1), and has received the imprimatur of several prestigious philanthropic organisations at home and abroad. Its primary preoccupation is with the sick and the handicapped. In association with the Ronen Institute it is providing guidance and counsel to parents of handicapped children and has launched an advisory service

A published document proposing cooperation between Nazi Germany and the Stern Gang during World War II takes on profound significance as former Stern Gang member Yitzhak Shamir steps into the Israeli premiership.

In 1940 a dissident Zionist group tried to ally themselves with Adolf Hitler. What gives this grotesque proposition its profound contemporary significance is that one of its leaders is about to become the next prime minister of Israel. His name: Yitzhak Yzerinsky Shamir.

Born in Ruzinov, Poland, in 1914, Shamir was already a member of Vladimir Jabotinsky's Zionist-Revisionist movement when he arrived in Palestine in 1935 and joined their underground Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organisation). Jabotinsky had come to realise that Britain was using the Zionists, and had no intention of ever handing the country over to them. So he looked elsewhere for new patrons. The anti-Semitic regime in Warsaw, always eager to get rid of its Jews, trained and armed the Irgun, which

planned a fantastic invasion of Palestine scheduled for 1940. Jabotinsky also turned to Mussolini, who trained 134 Revisionist youth at his maritime academy at Civitavecchia.

Although the Revisionists loyally supported the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, the Duce decided that the still insignificant Zionist colony in Palestine had little to offer him, and he moved into Hitler's camp. Disillusioned, Jabotinsky returned to his previous pro-British orientation and with the outbreak of World War II he called off the Irgun's mini-war against the British authorities in Palestine.

However, a wing of the Irgun had become ideologically fascist, and blamed Mussolini's pro-Nazi stance on the Jews, who loathed fascism and were insufficiently anti-British. The followers of Avraham Stern — Yzerinsky Shamir

BOTH FEET IN THE FASCIST CAMP

by Lenni Brenner

prominently among them — set up their own National Military Organisation (NMO) and determined to convince the Axis that they were proper fascists and resolute enemies of the British. In 1940, and again in 1941, the "Stern Gang's" bizarre proposal was found in the German Embassy in Turkey.

With Shamir's forthcoming ascension to power, even the Stern Gang will find its defence attorneys among Zionism's partisans: "The Sternists were only trying to save the Jews of Europe. And besides, nationalists are 'allowed' to ally themselves with the imperial rivals of their country's overlords." Both excuses are specious: Hitler, not Churchill, was the arch-enemy of world Jewry. He always planned to exterminate the Jews. The only way to

deal with him was to fight him.

Shamir's career continued. As "Rabbi Shamir" he became the operations commander in the triumvirate that took over their organisation, renamed the Lohamei Herut Israel (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel) after the British killed Stern in 1942. It was Shamir who planned the November 1944 Cairo assassination of Lord Moyne, London's High Commissioner for the Middle East, it was his men who joined Begin's Irgun in perpetrating the April 1948 massacre of 254 Palestinians at Deir Yassin; and, in September of that year, it was the Stern Gang who murdered Count Folke Bernadotte, the UN Special Mediator for Palestine.

The Bernadotte outrage compelled the new Zionist government to outlaw the FFI; Shamir had to go into

hiding, and several of its leaders were imprisoned. But they were soon amnestied and, in 1955, Shamir was recruited into the Mossad, retiring in 1965 as head of its European operations. After his retirement, he joined Begin's Herut Party, where, as "hero" of the underground, he was eagerly welcomed.

Any advertising agency would hasten to tell the Zionists that a Jew who wanted to ally himself to Hitler, a self-confessed terrorist, and an admitted totalitarian, will be impossible to sell. Of course Reagan will accept him and so will the Jewish establishment of the US — but will the ranks of American Jewry? Or anyone else? But, like all incurable fanatics, the present day Zionist movement has lost all concern for the opinion of civilised humanity. Now they will learn soon enough, and the hard way: "Whom the gods destroy, they first make mad."

Lenni Brenner is the author of *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (Croon Helm). His *The Iron Wall: Jabotinsky, Begin, Shamir* (Zed Press), will be released next spring.

Fundamental Features of the Proposal of the National Military Organisation (Irgun Zvai Leumi *) Concerning the Solution of the Jewish Question in Europe and the Participation of the NMO in the War on the Side of Germany.

"It is often stated in the speeches and utterances of the leading statesmen of Nationalist Socialist Germany that a new order in Europe requires as a prerequisite the radical solution of the Jewish question through evacuation ('Jew-free Europe').

"The evacuation of the Jewish masses from Europe is a precondition for solving the Jewish question; but this can only be made possible and complete through the settlement of these masses in the home of the Jewish people, Palestine, and through the establishment of a Jewish state in its historical boundaries.

"The solution in this manner of the Jewish problem, and thus the bringing about of the liberation of the Jewish people once and for all, is the objective of the political activity and the years-long struggle of the Jewish freedom movement: the National Military Organisation (Irgun Zvai Leumi) in Palestine.

"The NMO, which is well acquainted with the goodwill of the German Reich government and its authorities towards Zionist activity inside Germany and towards Zionist emigration plans, is of the opinion that:

- 1) Common interests could exist between the establishment of a new order in Europe in conformity with the German concept and the true national aspirations of the Jewish people as they are embodied by the NMO.
- 2) Cooperation between the new Germany and a renewed folk-national Hebraism would be possible, and
- 3) The establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian basis, and bound by a treaty with the German Reich, would be in the interest of a maintained and strengthened future German position of power in the Near East.

"Proceeding from these considerations, the NMO in Palestine, on condition that the above-mentioned national aspirations of the Israeli freedom movement are recognised by the German Reich, offers to actively take part in the war on Germany's side.

"This offer by the NMO, covering activity in the military, political and information fields outside Palestine would be connected to the military training and organising of Jewish manpower in Europe, under the leadership and command of the NMO. These military units would take part in the fight to conquer Palestine, should such a front be decided upon.

"The indirect participation of the Israeli freedom movement in the New Order in Europe, already in the preparatory stage, would be linked with a positive-radical solution of the European Jewish problem in conformity with the above-mentioned national aspirations of the Jewish people. This would extraordinarily strengthen the moral basis of the New Order in the eyes of all humanity.

"The cooperation of the Israeli freedom movement would also be along the lines of one of the last speeches of the German Reich Chancellor, in which Hitler emphasised that he would utilise every combination and coalition in order to isolate and defeat England.

"A brief general view of the formation, essence and activity of the NMO in Palestine follows:

"The NMO developed partly out of the Jewish Self-Defence in

Palestine and the Revisionist movement (New Zionist Organisation), with which the NMO was loosely connected through the person of Mr V. Jabotinsky until his death.

"The pro-English attitude of the Revisionist Organisation in Palestine, which prevented the renewal of the personal union, led in the fall of this year to a complete break between it and the NMO as well as to a thereupon following split in the Revisionist movement.

"The goal of the NMO is the establishment of the Jewish state within its historical borders.

"The NMO, in contrast to all Zionist trends, rejects colonial infiltration as the only means of making accessible and gradually taking possession of the fatherland and practices its slogan, the struggle and the sacrifice, as the only true means for the conquest and liberation of Palestine.

"On account of its militant character and its anti-English disposition, the NMO is forced, under constant persecutions by the English administration, to exercise its political activity and the military training of its members in Palestine in secret.

"The NMO, whose terrorist activities began as early as in the fall of the year 1936, has, after the publication of the English White Papers, become especially prominent in the summer of 1939 through successful intensification of its terrorist activity and sabotage of English property. This activity, as well as daily secret radio messages, were at that time noticed and discussed by almost the entire world.

"The NMO maintained independent political offices in Warsaw, Paris, London and New York until the beginning of the war.

"The office in Warsaw was mainly concerned with the military organisation and training of the national Zionist youth and was closely connected with the Jewish masses, who especially in Poland carried on and enthusiastically supported in every manner the fight of the NMO in Palestine. Two newspapers were published in Warsaw: *The Deed* and *Liberated Jerusalem*; these were organs of the NMO.

"The office in Warsaw maintained close relations to the former Polish government and those military circles who brought greatest sympathy and understanding toward the aims of the NMO. Thus, in the year 1939 selected groups of NMO members were sent from Palestine to Poland, where their military training was completed in barracks by Polish officers.

"The negotiations, for the purpose of activating and concretising their aid, which took place between the NMO and the Polish government in Warsaw — the evidence of which can easily be found in the archives of the former Polish government — were terminated because of the beginning of the war.

"The NMO is closely related to the totalitarian movements of Europe in its ideology and structure.

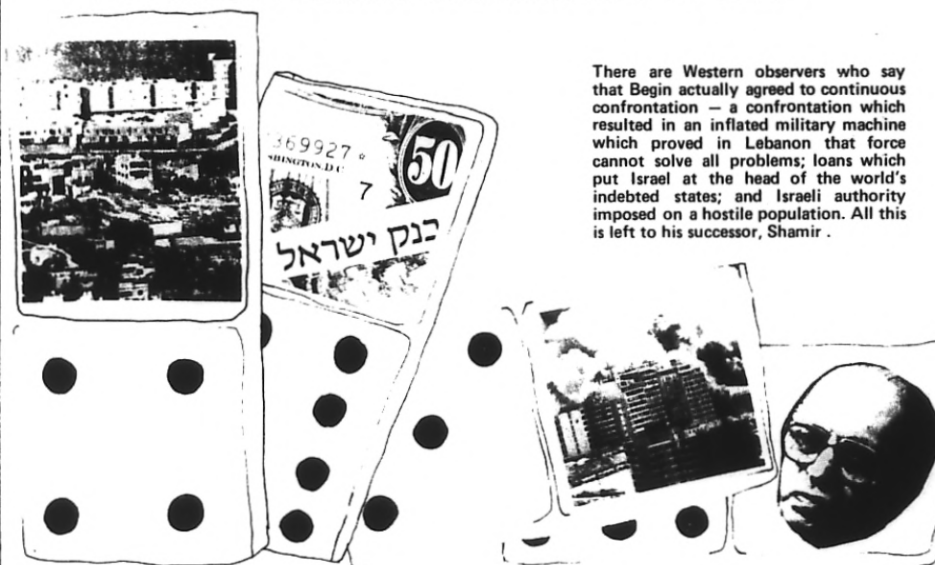
"The fighting capacity of the NMO could never be paralysed or seriously weakened — neither through strong defensive measures by the English administration and the Arabs, nor by those of the Jewish socialists.

* The document was written in late 1940, when Avraham Stern still called his movement the 'real' Irgun, from which they had split earlier in the year. Later, the Sternists took the name *Lohamei Herut Israel* (Lehi, for short), or *Fighters for the Freedom of Israel*. They were, however, universally known by the name the British gave them: the Stern Gang. Original from: David Yisraeli, "The Palestine Problem in German Politics, 1889-1945," Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan.



Top: Copy of NMO's original proposal, Shamir, and Jabotinsky; below, the Stern Gang demonstrates against the arrival of Special UN Mediator Count Folke Bernadotte from Sweden (1948).

LIKUD MINUS BEGIN: A TOUGHER ACT TO SELL



by Ariel Genai

It was symbolic that the latest important decision of Menachem Begin, before he announced his resignation, was connected with Lebanon, the problem which preoccupied him the most in the last year. It is symbolic because his decision dealt with the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Shuf area, where the situation is so complicated that the Israeli army cannot handle it effectively, and because the decision at least partially complied with the persistent demand of the Americans to delay the withdrawal.

This implied a tendency in Begin's policy to lessen the gravity of the problems and the belief — wrongly — that it is possible to solve them by force. But on the other side, it confirmed Begin's desire to refrain from confrontation with the United States. By virtue of this tendency, he succeeded more than was expected — despite deep differences with the US regarding the occupied territories — to maintain good relations with the US.

There is no doubt at all that the grave Israeli losses in Lebanon deeply affected the prime minister and they had an important part in the developments which brought about his resignation. Begin also knows that the redeployment of the Israeli forces along the Awali River, however efficient it was, will not prevent further losses. If Begin remained in power, he would continue to receive the depressing reports, which he physically can no longer stand.

So why did Begin comply with Reagan's demand although it would add dangers to the Israeli soldiers? Because, as an experienced politician, he understood that saying "no" to the president's demand in the tense atmosphere resulting from the death of two American Marines in Lebanon was liable to bring about grave results, among them backing for the demand voiced in the United States to evacuate the Marines. Other units of other states in the international forces would follow the Americans, and the Gemayel regime would collapse despite the limited success which the Lebanese army achieved in the latest battles in Beirut. And if the Gemayel regime

collapses, Beirut is liable to return to the situation which prevailed before the Israeli operation (sic).

And when we talk about the "stubbornness" of Begin, as Henry Kissinger did, we have to emphasise his tireless move towards his essential objective: the *de facto* annexation of the territories. But we cannot deny Begin's tactical skill. Unlike Sharon, Begin did not follow a policy of confrontation with the United States when the differences did not deal directly with the future of the territories. And because all knew the significance of the territories in his eyes, they understood his stubbornness regarding the subject of the occupied territories, despite their disagreement.

If there will be people in the Likud government who cannot show the tactical flexibility Begin showed on a number of occasions, things will change. Many of Begin's decisions and actions were accepted due to his political position, but these actions and decisions will not be accepted if they will be made by other officials in lower positions if the Likud remains in power. And if the Likud government follows the same policy which Menachem Begin followed, the possibility of selling this policy to the United States and Israel's allies will be lessened. The Israeli media campaign, which also during the days of Begin had a difficult task, might face big difficulties without him — in particular if Ariel Sharon will have a higher position in the new Likud government than the one he has had since he was forced to resign from the defence ministry.

Begin himself did not try to build bridges with the Palestinian population. There are doubts that he himself met a single Palestinian. He rejected suggestions from Moshe Dayan with regard to granting one-sided autonomy to the Palestinians, something which could have created new opportunities. Very few people in the world agree with the Likud's claim that the settlements in heavily populated Palestinian areas are a step forward to peace and coexistence. Many tragic examples testify to the opposite — such as the acts of mass killing in Assam in India, in Sri Lanka and Lebanon. We have worked for a year to achieve coexistence between the Druze and Maronites in the Shuf and we withdrew without achieving it. The regrettable

There are Western observers who say that Begin actually agreed to continuous confrontation — a confrontation which resulted in an inflated military machine which proved in Lebanon that force cannot solve all problems; loans which put Israel at the head of the world's indebted states; and Israeli authority imposed on a hostile population. All this is left to his successor, Shamir.

events which have occurred between the Jews and Arabs in the occupied territories prove that the situation there does not differ from others where there are communities with different national aspirations.

In the many commentaries written in the West following Begin's decision to resign, writers tried to get rid of the concepts prevalent when Begin was elected prime minister for the first time in 1977. They tried to raise morale and said that Begin left behind him a state stronger than the one he received. The military power of Israel is stronger than at any time before and the Arab states are in a state of dispersion and disunity. Everyone recognises that the facts Begin created regarding settlements obstruct any attempt to set up a Palestinian state, whether federated with Jordan or not.

But if Begin and his subordinates consider these steps positive, they will not be accepted by a large number of Israelis and the states friendly to Israel because if these steps obstruct a solution based on a confederation with Jordan or on another basis, this will only mean continuous confrontation.

There are Western observers who say that Begin actually agreed on continuous confrontation and he did not try to remove this danger, but the result of such confrontation is a burden left by Begin to his successor: a big and inflated military machine which needs huge sums of money to maintain itself and which proved in Lebanon that force alone cannot solve all problems; an economy standing on American banking; loans which put Israel at the head of the world's indebted states and Israeli authority imposed on a large hostile population. This is besides the inflation which Begin failed to handle and which caused distortion of values which were the source of the power of Israel in the past.

The Western observers conclude that Begin has made impressive achievements but they doubt the possibility of the continuation of these achievements in the long run. One Western observer wrote that Begin has won time but did not handle the roots of the Middle East crisis and the feeling of insecurity in Israel. (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, September 2, 1983).

An Actor

James Earl Jones and Sam have lived very different lives, but have grown to have similar philosophies. Jones grew up black in post-slavery Mississippi to become one of his country's leading dramatic actors. Sam, the character he plays in *Master Harold...and the boys*, came of age in pre-apartheid South Africa, a member of the black majority forced into servitude by colonial settler rule.

From his own experience, Jones has come to sympathise with Sam's attitude of patience, strategic to self-preservation. "If every black person spoke his mind and acted on impulse for self-esteem and dignity, they'd all be dead — and as you can see they're still living," Jones said in explaining away the ultimate passivity of the character.

Jones hopes that the audience understands Sam and what the play "is trying to get across. It doesn't take a political point of view," he says, "and doesn't use rhetoric. The characters themselves think in personal terms, not in black and white. They existed at a time before apartheid as we know it today, facing *de facto* segregation like in Boston and New York in the '50s and '60s."

Because of the "gentleness" of Athol Fugard's script, as Jones labels it, many black Americans criticised it as a "white man's play." To be heard, he counters, Fugard purposely toned down the level of confrontation evidenced in his earlier plays. "This is a gentle look at more subtle sides, striving for a harmony that crumples at the end."

In this light, Jones prefers performing to people who "haven't heard the message. I want to play to people with the most closed minds. I'd rather play to racists than to black people in my own country. Black people have evolved past what this play says... or become trapped into an anger."

Jones continues this argument down to the level of the particular roles he plays. "I'd rather do black role-models in trouble. I want young black people to see how the character deals with that trouble."

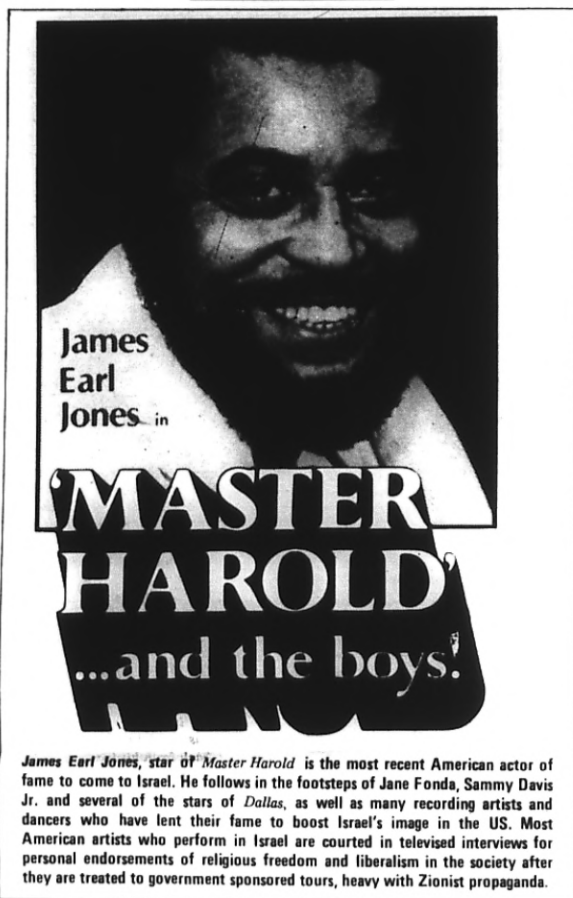
Performing *Master Harold* in Israel is, for Jones, not problematic. "If the Israelis have a sensitivity, it might touch them more than a sermon. One of the most painful ironies of my time is the (direction) of Israel's persecution... It is painful that they are courting South African technology... I keep thinking of an *underhand* that wanted Israel here, like that which wanted South Africa there, and the US is certainly part of that hand."

Jones is critical of certain aspects of Israeli society, but reluctant to talk about specifics. "Born-again fascists find identification with Israel as warriors... As an ex-soldier myself, I know that you can't kill anyone as long as you feel they are as human as you are. You can't enslave anyone unless you feel he's sub-human."

He does not see that his visit lends value to Israeli propaganda efforts. When asked if he would have considered boycotting Israel because of its treatment of the Palestinians, he answered: "I don't believe in boycotts." Faced with a similar question when he considered performing in South Africa, he made a personal decision not to perform. "At that time I was influenced by a Pakistani

Playing "gentle" roles

by Joan Mandell



James Earl Jones, star of *Master Harold* is the most recent American actor of fame to come to Israel. He follows in the footsteps of Jane Fonda, Sammy Davis Jr. and several of the stars of *Dallas*, as well as many recording artists and dancers who have lent their fame to boost Israel's image in the US. Most American artists who perform in Israel are courted in televised interviews for personal endorsements of religious freedom and liberalism in the society after they are treated to government sponsored tours, heavy with Zionist propaganda.

mother and her son. They said, 'They'll let you come with honorary white citizenship and treat you as a friend because you'd be leaving, but they wouldn't give black South Africans such a chance because the effects would remain with them...' " He counterposes this story with his own experience growing up in Mississippi: "If all people who could have affected the climate of Mississippi had boycotted it, it would still be a closed state. Even television commercials that show blacks in other than servant roles helped to open minds. Sometimes I feel the same about South Africa." And apparently about Israel.

A Play

Advertisements from New York for *Master Harold...and the boys*, starring black American actor James Earl Jones, promised that this drama by South African playwright Athol Fugard was "the best play of the season." The Broadway production was brought to Israel for performances in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem during late August.

I saw the play on Sunday night, August 27, at the Jerusalem Theatre in Rahavia, about two blocks away from the scene of a sidewalk confrontation between Herut and Peace Now supporters at Prime Minister Begin's home. The battle over his imminent resignation from the leadership of a government characterised by its support for policies

of domestic racism and international aggression were still fresh in my mind as I sat down to watch a subtly crafted version of a similar story in a distant land.

Master Harold is set in the rundown St. George's Park Tea Room in Port Elizabeth on a drizzly gray day in the 1950s. The characters — two black waiters (Jones is Sam, Ray Aranha is Willi) and the teenage son of the white tea room owner, Hally (Charles Michael Wright) — have known each other since the boy's infancy when the waiter-servants raised the boy, surrogates for the boy's own crippled alcoholic father.

The story unfolds like a French existentialist drama. The two waiters are cleaning up and setting tables for the next day's business, intermittently giving more serious attention to an upcoming ballroom dancing competition. Enter Hally (Harold), flinging down his book bag and ordering lunch. He gets down to his homework and they get back to cleaning up and dancing but all the while interrupting work to crack jokes and recall their first days together. Sam and Hally remember how they studied together, how Sam made a rag-tag kite for Hally that ended up being a high-flyer and how the two black men took the drunken father home one night from a "whites-only" bar after Hally got them permission to enter. Hally and Sam trade their nominations for Greatest Man in History and Sam and Willi tell

the boy about the dance contest.

These pleasantries are interrupted by two phone calls from the adolescent's mother that throw Hally into a tantrum. The father he despises is coming home from the hospital. When Sam intervenes to calm and counsel Hally on love and respect for his father, the kid lets his anger rip into the black men. Call me "master" from now on, he taunts, and tells a racist joke about black men's buttocks. At first Sam encourages Harold to rethink the significance of his new terms and later he retorts by exposing a bare behind. This further infuriates the "master," who spits in Sam's face. Sam holds himself back from a violent response to this symbol of utmost humiliation.

Master Harold is presented as an isolated afternoon occurrence in the personal lives of three men in a tea room. But the dynamics of their relationships cannot be understood without reflection on South Africa's apartheid system and its effects on the personalities of these men. (For anyone in the audience who might miss this point, the first page of the evening's programme explains: "Here in this small confrontation is the entire ugly story of South Africa's apartheid. And as the tide of history, so movingly reflected by three commonplace people it is gleaming drama.")

Willi and Sam face the 'small confrontation' with different responses. Willi is rather subservient, yet not completely resigned to his fate, while Sam maintains an intelligent dignity and patience. Recognising his emotional ties to the boy, he tries to convince Hally that mutual salvation from this irrational system of hate depends on the white's rejection of racial superiority.

The black men's attitudes are also reflected in their styles on the dance floor. Willi is uncomfortable with his own slouching body, yet with each turn he stands a bit taller, wanting very much to be a winner. Sam's dignified glides across the room establish his self-confidence and our respect for his character from the start.

Before the confrontation with Harold, the two dance alone. Afterwards, when he has left the dimly lit place, they embrace in a slow, graceful dance in rhythm to the rich tones of a black voice emanating from a brightly lit juke box.

While the play was meant to be a lesson in patience, it left me impatient. James Earl Jones would say in a post-performance interview that this is because I was looking for something that wasn't meant to be there. What I wanted to be there was a third waiter — a member of the African National Congress, or even a spontaneous militant who would suggest a course of resistance. What I wanted to hear from Sam were names of proud black people when he gave his suggestions for Great Men of History: Sojourner Truth (a slave woman who fought against racism and sexism) rather than Abraham Lincoln.

It was sometimes difficult to follow the dialogue. Though many in the audience laughed at the obvious jokes, I didn't find them particularly funny. Perhaps it was sitting in the 19th row, halfway into the audience that made me feel excluded from the personal style of the play — not being able to see the actors' faces in the bright stage light. It is better suited for small stage theatres.

PALESTINE AND LITERATURE

POET ABD AL-LATIF AQEL REFLECTS ON EXILE AND POETRY

"The homeland is the geography of the Palestinian soul"

by Yousef Abu Loz



Abd al-Latif Aqel speaks with Jordanian journalist Yousef Abu Loz.

Dr. Abd al-Latif Aqel, 41, arrived in the West Bank recently from the US to teach at al-Najah University in Nablus. Aqel, a native of Deir Istiya, in the Nablus district, graduated from Damascus University in 1966 and taught at al-Najah institute until 1972. From 1972 to 1975, he taught at Bethlehem University.

Aqel has published the following poetry collections and plays:

- The Shores of the Moon (1964)
- Songs of the Peak and Valley (1972)
- Her Or Death (1973)
- Songs of Unmerciful Love (1975)
- The Children Are Chasing the Locusts (1976)
- The Key, a play (1974)
- The Wedding, a play (1980)

Q: You have just returned from the US, returned from the country which scattered our blood in exile. You became more gray-haired than usual, like an exhausted prophet... I see in your eyes a shining, like fire, and many conversations. What do you have to say?

A: Symbolically speaking I did not go to America and I have not returned to Palestine. Let me repeat that they — I mean the West without exception — conspired and are conspiring against Palestine. They succeeded — as I see it — in forcing most of the Palestinians out of their country. But they could not take Palestine from the heart of any Palestinian.

But Palestine constantly occupies our minds; return is inevitable.

I grow older because of love. I remember some verses written by the Russian poet Hamzatov who addressed his homeland as his lover.

*If twenty of your lovers came
and gathered before your house
singing love poems for you
you will find among them
a gray-haired old man
with a face browned by the sun
you will realize that it is me*

*If only one remains at the door
after all are gone
and you watched his tears and
song from the balcony
you will know that he is the
gray-haired old man
whose face was browned by the
sun*

*If the heavy winter nights pass
and you sit along beside the
stove for a long time
and do not hear the footsteps
on the stairs for many long
days
then you will know that
Hamzatov died*

I am not tired because I belong to a people who despite four thousand victims are still alive. It is not permitted for any member of this people, poet or not, to be tired.

The feeling of tiredness is a betrayal of the vital power which started washing away reaction and rottenness.

The fire in my eyes is only a humble expression as I try to understand the historical massacres. This time is not the time for collapse or catastrophe but the time for symbols. The world nominated us as the heroes of bloodshed. If this interview took place in Salah al-Din Street (Jerusalem) or in Wad al-Nissan (Haifa) then we would have all the time in the world and all the words. These interviews are abrupt, brief, fierce and bloody, like a soul gone astray until we find our homeland.

The homeland is the geography of the Palestinian soul. We have no history, no geography without it.

Q: I want to talk about Native Americans. You have friends among them and have visited their living places.

A: They are us but we are not them. I mean that they are like the Palestinians but we are not the Indians of Israel. The white man's machine crushed them and the survivors are sad alcoholics. Their political movement which fights for Indian rights is called the "Movement of Whiskey Drinkers."

The American administration still forces them from one area to another, from one state to another, in order to exploit their natural wealth after it confiscated their national identity and distorted their struggle. It has put their heritage and arts into natural history museums and transformed their existence into a set of internationally distributed Hollywood films which present Native Americans as nothing more than fierce horses and chiefs with feathers fixed atop their heads.

The Native Americans are still awaiting the thunderbird. For us it flies above the hills of the West Bank and Gaza and touches the peaks of Lebanon's mountains, transforming the deserts into living space. The difference is obvious between us and them. We are chased in all international airports and slandered on television screens. But in all parts of the east and west the Palestinians are seen. The Indians in America did not go beyond their borders. They froze and died. We set fires alight everywhere. The Red Indians' cause is a lesson that we should understand and the Palestinian cause, for them, is a symbol. One of their poets wrote:

*Do not go far
all roads asphalted with the
corpses of our children
are as wide as night
the carriages move on at great
speed
their ancestors who slaught-
ered our ancestors drove them
their fathers who humiliate
our fathers
their sons... prevent our
sons from going to school
when you return from the big
town
do not forget to dig under the
asphalt
and bring me a handful of
soil
to smell the perfume of my
mother
extracted from high Abhar
trees
my father did not smell it
last time
because he did not come
back from his trip
searching for the thunder-
bird
they said that a big bulldozer
passed over his body
over his white horse*



Q: What about your poetic experience in America? When you saw Palestinian blood on TV screens... I know that it was your second journey to the US and you spent seven years there. I think it is sufficient time to learn about the US attitude to the invasion of Lebanon.

A: I discussed the subject of the American media coverage of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in a long article published in al-Jazeera. I discussed the editorials and the political analyses of the biggest American daily newspapers: The Washington Post, The Chicago Tribune, and The Los Angeles Times.

I found that American coverage of the news was similar to Israel's, but that the larger US media photographed safe things such as destroyed buildings and material devastation. They did not photograph people — women, children and the old. They did not photograph hospitals, schools and populated areas, to give

an impression that the Israelis did not bombard innocent people:

The Palestinians were portrayed as terrorists and gangsters;

The camps were depicted as military bases, giving the impression that destroying them was not an attack on children, women and the old;

In news analyses and editorials, they concentrated on the myth of self-defence and the lie of Peace for Galilee, to give the impression that Israel was defending itself against Palestinian terror;

The American media made links between the Palestinians and the Soviet Union, saying the Palestinians were toys in the hands of the Soviet Union;

The American media, like Israel's, believed the invasion of Lebanon would help the Lebanese get rid of Palestinians, to change the image of the war into a sectarian conflict.

These notes about the American attitude complicate the experience of the poet with tragic dimensions. I wrote only 12 poems between 1980 and 1983. The degree of suffering in these poems gradually reaches a peak in *Songs of the Hard Time*. All have a similar (existential) vision. The reader will see in the first poem, "A Letter to an Old Friend," and in the *Songs* that there is one experience whose poignancy reaches a fever pitch. These poems were clearly written in the enemy's house.

Q: Now you are bringing yourself, your children and baggage to Deir Istiya village in occupied Palestine. What do you want to do there?

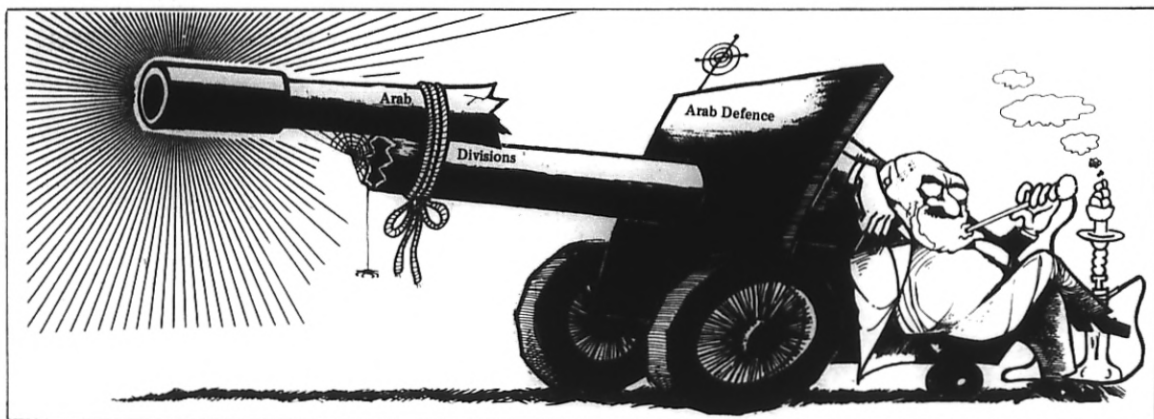
A: Job-wise I will teach in the sociology department at al-Najah University and other national universities in the occupied homeland. On the intellectual level, my activities will be divided between research and literature. I will publish *Hassan Bin Zariaq Is Still Travelling*. It is a long collection of poetry. I wrote the first part in 1975 and the second part and introduction in the period between 1976 and 1980. Everything was first published in *Al Fajr's* literature pages as a series. I will publish a book of prose about my experience in the United States during the seven years I spent there called *Songs of the Hard Time*.

On a research level, I will write a study on the effect of the occupation on the social structures of Palestinian society, and the psychology of delight among Arabs. I have two large books ready: *Socio-Psychological Analysis of the Palestinian Response to Homelessness*, and *Phoenix Arizona Printing House will publish The Psychology of Arab Oil* in October 1983.

Q: How do you see poetry now?

A: I am happy with the new wave of young poets. I hope that they will find their rightful place in this difficult period after Beirut. I ask the elder poets who have long experience not to resent the competition of the young poets. For a long time I have not had links with the literature of the occupied territories, but it is easy to see that the writer and the poet in the occupied territories have been subject to oppression which paralyses, sometimes, their productivity. I am sure that the poet in the occupied territories will be a vanguard of resistance. (Translation: al-Mithaq, 10.9.83)

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The escalation in the battles in the Shouf mountains and the threat of the US involvement in the new civil war in Lebanon was headlined in the local papers this week.

Day-to-day reports of the battles between the Progressive Socialist Party against the Lebanese army and the Phalangists was given the top spot. Local papers detailed the names of villages under the control of the Progressives and the retreat of the Lebanese army and the Phalange.

Al Fajr gave great importance this week to the first annual Christian and Muslim Palestinian Heritage conference held at the Ecumenical Centre in Tantour.

Editorials in all the local press support the PSP and the Lebanese nationalist forces. Papers have also warned the US not to get involved in the internal fighting in Lebanon.

Thanks, Mr. Reagan!

Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad) was certainly not bluffing when he warned that the Palestinian movement would not stand idly by if the US launched an attack against Syria and its troops in Lebanon.

The deputy PLO commander-in-chief noted that the Palestinians considered the Syrian presence in Lebanon absolutely legal. His statement reaffirms the fact that the Palestinian movement is not restricted to one single geographic region, but is a national uprising whose roots are firmly set in the soil of Arab nationhood. And the recent differences of opinion between the Syrian regime and the PLO could in no way alter this fact or cause a ripple in the Palestinian stand.

We hope that Syrian-Palestinian relations will revert to what they were before because of the common threat the Arab world is facing, which should unite all ranks.

And it is apt here to express our gratitude to the US administration, whose intervention could be the spark that would draw all the Arabs together in forming one united front against all threats and assaults.

AL FAJR
September 9, 1983

The Tripartite Aggression

France and the US have escalated their military inter-

vention in Lebanon's internal affairs, followed by Britain, which has dispatched military planes to back its contingent in the multinational forces.

We are now on the threshold of a tripartite invasion of Lebanon. The new colonialists are teaming up with the old colonialists to impose a new age of imperialism on our region.

Mitterand is stripping his socialist fig tree of its leaves, one by one, to reveal France's subservient role as an emissary of the US, dedicated to implementing its deluded plans for the region; and Margaret Thatcher — haunted by ancient ghosts decapitated by freedom-loving nations — dreams of re-introducing gunboat diplomacy.

Faced by these developments, Palestinians must be on their guard and be prepared to take on their responsibilities as members of the Arab nation. For it is clear that the Arab regimes are conniving at what is going on in Lebanon, and Saudi Arabian Prince Bandar's efforts are aimed at salvaging the Gemayel regime, not saving his embattled country.

The alarm bells are ringing — does anyone hear them?

AL SHAAB
September 10, 1983

The Matter Left Forgotten

Preoccupied with the growing crisis in Lebanon, the Arabs and the nations of the world seem to have relegated the

Palestinian cause to a secondary or tertiary status.

The Lebanese crisis is actually an extension of the Palestine problem, despite the fact that the Lebanese crisis was ignited by internal sparks.

No one has forgotten that the Lebanese civil war that erupted in 1975 came in the wake of an armed attack on a bus carrying Palestinian passengers near the Ain al-Hilweh Phalangist suburb.

The isolationist Lebanese elements wanted to exploit the presence of the Palestinians in Lebanon to let loose the hounds of war, and succeed they did.

The Palestinian factor was also behind the repeated Israeli invasions of Lebanese territory: the stated aim of the June invasion was to liquidate the Palestinian Liberation Organisation both politically and militarily.

The continued Palestinian presence in the Beqa'a and the north of Lebanon is still a valid topic of discussion and there is hardly any consensus of views on this. Some are opposed to the Palestinian presence and would like the Palestinians to vanish; others insist their presence is natural or vital.

Therefore the Palestinian factor in Lebanon and other Arab countries is relevant and cannot be ignored. And in order to pacify the situation in Lebanon and the Middle East, there is no alternative to finding a comprehensive solution to the crisis in the region, without concentrating solely on one issue at the expense of another.

AL QUDS
September 11, 1983

War Star

The US administration seems to have reached the conclusion that Lebanon provides a wide and secure vantage point from which to direct its blows against the will of the Arab nation, liquidate the Palestine problem and subsequently rob the Arab world of its treasures, generation after generation.

But this is an illusion, and it cannot last long. The US cannot forever continue staging its bloody show in the Middle East. The sectarian Phalangists have begun losing their clout, and in their death throes are calling on Israel, the US and France for succor. And, on the other hand, the nationalist elements that have long battled to safeguard the dignity and sovereignty of their country are on the ascendancy.

The future has been made secure, and it is up to the National Salvation Front, which enjoys the backing of all Lebanese factions, the PLO and the liberation movements of the world, to take matters in hand and dictate what form it will take.

The battle of Lebanon is now the battle between the will to live and the threat of destruction, for a nationalist Arab destiny for which the Lebanese have sacrificed so much.

The smoke from the battlefield cannot hide the obvious fact that the US is an aggressor in Lebanon, and that the harder it strikes at the Lebanese, the more determined the Lebanese are to put an end to Uncle Sam's machinations.

AL FAJR
September 12

Threat of War

The American administration and the rulers of Israel now believe that the Phalangist Gemayel throne is teetering and on the verge of keeling over. There had even been reports that Gemayel intended to resign last week, but was dissuaded from doing so by David Kimche, director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry.

There is also the possibility that Gemayel may be removed by a military coup, which would necessitate an Israeli-US intervention under the pretext of "saving" Lebanon.

World public opinion does not discount such an eventuality aimed at salvaging the Phalangist regime and hitting Syria at the same time. The operation would result in extending the scope of the Camp David accords and transforming Lebanon into a front-line NATO base.

Syria has made it abundantly clear it will not stand idly by if the US, Israel and the Phalange embark upon such an adventure. The US is charging around the world like an enraged bull — and Israel and the other eager beavers stand at its beck and call.

But this world does not belong to them only — this region is no showground for the display of US and Israeli firepower. The nationalist elements stand poised to foil all imperialist plots, while in the background the mighty Soviet bloc remains immovable as a monopoly in its backing of the Syrian-Palestinian-nationalist Lebanese alliance.

AL ITTIHAD
September 13

JORDANIAN RESTRICTIONS JEOPARDISE ACADEMIC FUTURES

The educational future of Jerusalem high school graduate Habib Mohammed Touri, 22, is now in limbo after the Jordanian authorities refused him entry into the country, September 11. He was in transit to the US to take a degree at the California State University.

Habib Touri was accepted at CSU for this year. During the summer he had his Jordanian passport renewed and received a visa from the US Consulate in East Jerusalem. He prepared to go abroad via Amman. At the beginning of the summer the Jordanians declared that any Palestinian holding a Jordanian passport would face prosecution if they leave the West Bank via

Lydda airport. He left September 11 to catch an Alia airlines flight to San Francisco leaving Amman September 14.

After crossing from the Israeli-controlled station at King Abdullah Bridge, Touri was stopped by a Jordanian officer. He said he would have to go back because his *tawfihi* (matriculation) certificate was issued in 1981. Touri attempted to appeal the decision and demanded to see a higher ranking officer. He was refused and made to return to the West Bank — undergoing the normal rigorous search process by the Israelis.

Mohammed Touri, Habib's father, has appealed to the Jordanian prime minister to review

the case of his son and other students in his category who have been refused entrance to the Jordanian borders. He told *Al Fajr*, "We do not know what to do. We are damned if we'll go through Lydda airport and we are not allowed to go to Jordan. We are in a big prison."

Since the abrupt end of PLO-Jordan talks this spring, the Hashemites have imposed a variety of restrictions on West Bank travellers. Students have been particularly targeted. At other times, people under 40 were stopped at the bridge. Restrictions vary between refusal of entry and the issuing of only short-stay visas.

SOUTHERN LEBANESE RESIST

One Israeli soldier was killed, dozens wounded and one armoured vehicle damaged in military attacks behind the new Israeli front lines on the Awali river, between September 11 and 14. Military observers said the force of the attacks and the techniques used wrecked Israeli hopes of reducing casualties in the smaller area they now occupy.

The most serious attack occurred on September 14, when an Israeli patrol on duty near the village of Ma'aroub, on the main Nabatiya-Tyre road, was attacked with bazookas. According to the Israeli Radio, one shell scored a direct hit on the vehicles, killing one occupant and wounding seven others. The report said

that one soldier is suffering from serious injuries.

Nahmia Sharabi, the reserve corporal who died, was buried September 15.

According to Israeli military spokesmen, three soldiers were wounded, September 11, when their two-jep patrol was ambushed six kilometres south of Nabatiya. The spokesman explained that the attackers who used light arms were hiding on the side of the road. The fighters threw a grenade at the first jeep and followed it with bursts of light arms fire. The military spokesman said that the soldiers were wounded in the arms and legs. Meanwhile, the attackers left in a waiting car.

A Sa'ad Haddad Israeli-backed militia leader was wounded in an attack on his military headquarters in the village of Azria, some 15 kilometres south of Nabatiya, September 13. The attackers threw two hand grenades into the building. He was flown by an Israeli military helicopter to Rambam hospital in Haifa.

Israeli Radio further reported on September 15 that on the previous night an armoured personnel carrier struck a land mine near Kamed al-Louz, near the Syria-Israel cease-fire lines. The radio claimed that there were no casualties.

Casualty tolls of the same attacks were estimated by Palestinian sources to be much higher.

tained the Phalange forces south of Beirut, where the right wing forces demolished 50 houses.

Amal fighters launched a fierce attack on the Lebanese Army in west Beirut in the quarters of Burj al-Barajneh, Saloum, Mekalas and Leilaki. The Phalange forces shelled the civilian targets in the Shouf and Metn, including the Dhour Shwaif Hospital. Sporadic clashes were reported in Shuaifat, Kufri Shema and Khalde.

September 14

In an imperial move, US President Ronald Reagan yesterday authorised the US Marines in Beirut to operate air strikes against the Druze and other national popular resistance forces, who after a week of tenacious fighting have achieved complete control of 85 percent of the Shouf and Aley regions and are pressing from the south on the gates of Beirut.

The US Marine command already directs 2000 troops on land, mainly deployed around Khalde airport, and 5000 troops off-shore. 2000 arrived last Sunday on board three warships and 3000 on board the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Eisenhower. The command will henceforth be able to order, without prior consultation with Washington, air strikes by AV-8 Harrier fighter bombers and navy A-6 bombers, in addition to the F-14 fighters already employed in war and reconnaissance mis-

US committed to Gemayel

The United States is justifying its military escalation in Beirut on the grounds of "Palestinian involvement." Speaking at a press conference, September 13, Allen Romberg, Deputy State Department spokesperson, said Palestinian involvement in the renewed civil war is a violation of the terms of the agreement reached last year and will justify the American decision to get more militarily involved in the fighting. Despite the escalation in the US role and reports that US Special Envoy Robert McFarlane recommended it, Romberg denied that the role of the American presidential envoy has changed at all.

Romberg refuted both recent remarks made by Moshe Arens, Israeli defence minister,

that Jordan is a Palestinian state and that the West Bank and Gaza ought to be annexed. The US, he said, has stated many times that it "supports the territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty and unique and enduring character of Jordan." Romberg also reiterated US policy opposing the "annexation of the West Bank and Gaza and the Golan," a position consistent with the letter and spirit of UN resolutions 242 and 338 and with the Camp David accords. The final status of the territories, the US believes, is to be determined in negotiations between the parties. Romberg then quoted Reagan's September 1 initiative stating that the US "will not support annexation or permanent control by Israel" of the territories.

In a radio broadcast by the "Voice of the Palestinian Revolution" from Tripoli, September 13, it was reported that during the previous two days, joint Palestinian-Lebanese nationalist forces carried out three successful attacks against Israeli troops. The report noted that the attacks were carried out by units operating behind Israeli lines, which were involved in direct clashes with Israeli forces.

The first attack took place south of Sidon, September 11, when commandos fired rockets and light arms at an armoured patrol. Several soldiers were killed and wounded before the commandos withdrew to base, the statement said.

In another attack on the same day, an armoured vehicle was destroyed and its occupants were killed or wounded after it was attacked near Ansar deten-

The third attack, the station reported, occurred on September 12. The report stated that all soldiers in the two jeeps were killed or wounded.

On-going military attacks continued despite excessive security measures carried out by Israeli troops and their local militia-allies. Foreign media reports said that occupation forces began a large campaign of arrests in Palestinian refugee camps. At least 45 people, including 10 women were arrested during the first three days after pulling back to the new lines. Foreign reporters said that the campaign covered Burj al-Shamali and Rashidiya refugee camps in the Tyre region. It later spread to camps in the Sidon area.

Meanwhile, mobile military patrols and check posts manned by Israeli soldiers or militias were evident everywhere in the region.

sions throughout the past week.

The US objective is to block the advance of the resistance force and to attempt turning the present military situation in favour of the Phalange puppet regime of Amin Gemayel, which at present controls with extreme difficulty a mere few square kilometres in West Beirut. The definition of the move as "aggressive self-defence tactics to protect the multinational force stationed in Beirut," is unanimously considered in the Lebanese capital as a pretext to heighten the level of direct military intervention in support of the Lebanese regime. The regime is strongly reminiscent of former Catholic South Vietnamese dictator Nguyen Van Thieu, who, let it be recalled, also attempted to impose with US help a "Christian" minority domination over a non-Christian majority; a cover is being used to the transform the Lebanese conflict into yet one more east-west hot confrontation point.

The "self-defence" pretext is, in any case, contradicted by the facts. The strikes from land, sea and air against the resistance forces cannot be motivated by hits received by the US or other MNF forces for the simple reason that the sources of fire are not being identified, as was admitted

yesterday by US Sixth Fleet Commander Admiral Edward Martin in an interview to the Italian daily *La Repubblica*.

Patiently, Lebanese resistance leader Walid Jumblatt explained, September 15, that a solution of the Lebanese conflict lies, basically, in the possibility for all non-Maronite Lebanese "to finally become first class citizens in their own country, to participate in the fundamental decisions regarding their national society and to confirm the democratic Arab policies of Lebanon." To ignore this simple truth, to pervert it into sustaining that in Lebanon the West is supporting a "legitimate government" against the "Syrian and Palestinian invaders," to invest gigantic economic and human resources (the sole presence of the Eisenhower in Beirut's waters costs the US taxpayers US\$1 million a day) to fight the natural and normal aspirations described by Jumblatt can only imply the existence of ulterior motives dominated by imperial strategic logic behind the deceitful pretexts. Such motives design to transform Lebanon into a link, shared with Israel, of a geographically uninterrupted chain, or "iron belt," of nuclear bases and strategic control posts running from Sicily to Turkey's boundaries with the Soviet Union.

PLO will strike back

A Palestinian military spokesman announced, September 14, that an Israeli commando unit had shelled Palestinian positions in the Tripoli area the day before. In a dispatch broadcast by Monte Carlo Radio, the spokesman said that the unit landed on the shore between Nahr al-Bared and Baddawi refugee camps and fired 40 shells from a 81 mm mortar at Palestinian military camps before withdrawing.

The spokesman described the incident as a "serious development," adding that "Palestinian forces will respond to it properly." (Translation: *Al Fajr*, September 15).



continued from page 2

LEBANON

Observers read the American decision, taken at a National Security Council meeting, as a warning to Syria to end its support for the Lebanese national movement, or the US will escalate its activities in Lebanon. The *Washington Post* reported that the air raids will be launched from the US aircraft carrier Eisenhower, stationed off the Lebanese shore.

Israel was reported to be massively reinforcing its line along the Awali River during the past 36 hours. More than 50 tanks and 75 armoured vehicles crossed the Israel-Lebanon borders September 12 and more than 5000 paratroopers and Golani special forces were transferred to Lebanon, indicating Israeli involvement in the fighting. Two Israeli naval ships deposited heavy weapons and armaments in Junieh port, north of Beirut, in Phalangist territory. The fierce battles which characterised earlier fighting between Gemayel forces and leftist forces diminished but fighting continued sporadically on all fronts.

Israeli forces aided the retreat of Phalangist forces to hills overlooking Ain Hour and Dibbeyeh, which the national forces now control. National forces con-

WEEKLY REVIEW

September 7, 1983

WALL GOES UP

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military authorities put up checkpoints all along the 'green line' early this morning and Arab labourers commuting to work were forced to undergo meticulous searches. Anyone not in possession of a valid work permit was turned back.

TREES COURT

TULKARM — The municipality of Tulkarm has sued several people for cutting down trees planted in front of their shops and places of business. Appeals Court Judge Usama Taher said the penalty upon conviction is three months in jail in addition to a fine.

Municipal sources said town hall will be satisfied with a fine of JD50 for each tree damaged.

EXPLOSION IN GALILEE

TAMRA — A huge explosion at the Israeli-owned Nesher Cement Company shattered windows and knocked down a wall in the village of Tamra, the Galilee. No one was injured.

Local council head Abbas Hijazi lodged a strong protest with the company which had moved its works from Haifa to the village's Jebel Arid land. He said he was taking the necessary measures to sue the company in court.

COUNTERFEIT

JERUSALEM — Israeli police have seized a number of counterfeit Jordanian dinars circulating in the West Bank. Police sources said the 10-dinar denomination banknotes all bear the same serial number, HA-124590.

ACRE PROBLEMS

ACRE — Residents of the old city of Acre, particularly the Fakhoury quarter, say they have no water during the day and have called on the municipality to take urgent action.

The city's Council of Reconstruction Committee also complained that dozens of students are dropping out before completing primary school.

Several students who reach preparatory level are functionally illiterate, and the council demanded that the municipality open remedial classes for them.

The committee noted that the Arab part of town also lacks sufficient playgrounds.

September 8, 1983

KAHANE BACK

HEBRON — Rabbi Meir Kahane, leader of the extremist Kach

movement, has returned to Kiryat Arba in anticipation of leading their forthcoming municipal elections campaign.

Kahane stated that his faction would contest the elections on the platform: "To Judaize all of Hebron, to annex all of the West Bank to the state of Israel, and to deport the Arabs of the West Bank to Arab countries."

KIDS KEEP UP SCHOOL

GAZA — Students attending UNRWA-run Beach camp school in Gaza are being asked to contribute funds to help repair the school building.

The school administration is asking students to pay up to IS100 to help defray the cost of replacing the tiled roofs with corrugated tin. This is the first time Palestinian refugees have ever been asked to contribute funds themselves.

Arabs incarcerated in the Ashkelon jail appealed to world public opinion to put a stop to the "policy of racial discrimination" practiced against them by their jailers.

The prisoners note that they are being used as guinea pigs by Israeli experimenters, while at the same time being denied vital medication.

The prisoners called on all institutions and organisations to aid Khader Hassan Qatami, who is suffering from skin cancer, and Fayed Badawi, who is severely anemic. Despite the fact that both have been moved to hospital at Ramle, neither is receiving any treatment.

MISSING STUDENT

NABLUS — It was reported today that Sami Abd al-Aziz, a student at al-Najah University and member of the general assembly of its student council, has not returned from summons to a meeting in the military government headquarters in Ramallah, September 4.

earlier this year. The authorities have begun laying down a road and excavating the land.

QALQILIYA BOMB

QALQILIYA — A bomb went off near an Israeli border post in Qalqiliya. There were no reports of injuries.

INDUSTRY STUDY

BIR ZEIT — Two lecturers at Bir Zeit University's Faculty of Trade and Commerce have prepared a feasibility study on industrial development of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The report submitted by Hisham Jaber and Omar Qadi was commissioned by the UN Industrial Development Organisation.

STUDENT RELEASED

BEIT JALA — The Israeli authorities have released Sami Saliba Qunqar, a Beit Jala resident, after holding him for 10 days.

A student in a Rumanian university, Sami had been on a visit to his family when he was arrested.

NEW CLINICS

KHAN YUNIS — The Nasser Hospital in Khan Yunis is opening up new clinics to cater for the growing needs of the town and nearby population centres. Hospital sources said the new clinics will be for ear, nose and throat cases and for patients with blood diseases.

MORGUE ANNIVERSARY

GAZA — The cold storage unit at the Shifa Hospital morgue has been out of order for a year now. Reports said no funds were available to repair the unit or purchase the required spare parts. However, hospital sources say it will soon be possible to get the unit back in working order thanks to a donation by an anonymous philanthropist.

NEW TEACHERS

GAZA — Some 180 women and 150 men have been admitted to Gaza's teacher-training colleges for the coming year. The city's education department also proposes to open a new class to train physical education teachers.

TEXTBOOK SHORTAGE

GAZA — Thousands of students at Gaza's government-run schools are still without textbooks, despite the fact that classes resumed more than ten days ago. The books are printed by an Israeli government printer in Jerusalem.

September 11, 1983

EXPLOSION IN SETTLEMENT

JERUSALEM — A bomb exploded near the Jewish settlement of Jeinat in the north of the West Bank. The booby-trap had been placed alongside the road leading to the settlement. The explosion was triggered off when an Israeli military vehicle drove by the spot.

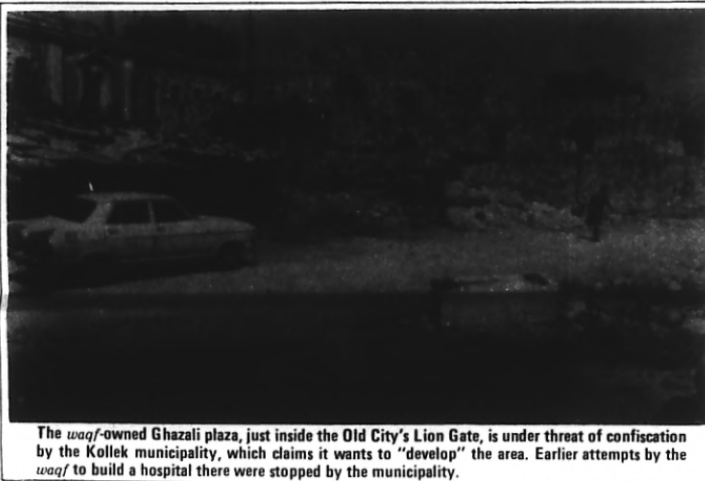
This is the third such incident within a week. A bomb went off near an Israeli border police post in Qalqiliya last week, followed by another explosion near the Daboyya building in Hebron.

SABRA-SHATILA STRIKE

JERUSALEM — The Regional Committee for the Defence of Arab Land has come out in support of the call by the Committee Against the War in Lebanon and the Council for a Palestinian-Israeli Peace, for a general strike on September 18, the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

CLUB OPENS, CLOSES

Reports from Eilat on the Red Sea say Arabs employed there were given permission to set up a club in a disused shelter. But as they set to work cleaning and sprucing up the place someone locked them in. They believe it was one of many Israelis who object to having the Arabs socialise in their midst.



The waqf-owned Ghazali plaza, just inside the Old City's Lion Gate, is under threat of confiscation by the Kollek municipality, which claims it wants to "develop" the area. Earlier attempts by the waqf to build a hospital there were stopped by the municipality.

NATIONAL PRODUCTS EXHIBIT

BETHLEHEM — The General Federation of Medical Professions in the West Bank is staging an exhibition of the products of national industries in the occupied territories.

The exhibition is aimed at encouraging local production.

SETTLEMENTS DRY

RAMALLAH — Several Israeli settlements in the northern part of the country which draw their water supplies from Ramallah have begun hoarding water. All efforts to persuade the Israeli water company, Mekorot, to take over the supply of water to these settlements have not succeeded.

BEER SHEBA ESCAPE

JERUSALEM — Three detainees staged a successful escape attempt from the Beer Sheba jail. Police said they recaptured one escapee.

PRISONERS SICK

JERUSALEM — Palestinian

September 9, 1983

DRUZE COMRADES

JERUSALEM — Palestinian Druze in Israel have asked the Reagan administration not to allow the US Marines to intervene in the fighting against their coreligionists in Lebanon. Druze elders said that if US forces continue to side with the Phalangists against the Druze, they will be forced to take action to aid their brethren.

The Druze warning came in the course of a meeting with Druze elders held with the US ambassador to Israel, Samuel Lewis. Lewis reportedly told the elders that the US Marines had not intervened in the fighting, but had merely been acting in self-defence.

LAND GRAB

RAMALLAH — The Israeli authorities have expropriated 1500 dunums of Arab land belonging to the village of Safa in the Ramallah district. This follows the expropriation of another 2000 dunums of village land

NO ANIMOSITY

JERUSALEM — Druze elders from the village of Isfiya paid a courtesy call on the home of a Christian resident who had been the target of a bomb attack earlier in the day. Reports said unidentified assailants tossed a hand grenade at the home, shattering several windows. There were no injuries or casualties.

September 10, 1983

MASSIVE BLAZE

JENIN — A huge fire that broke out in two Jenin stores over the weekend caused damage estimated at over JD13,000. Reports said the flames destroyed a considerable part of the stores, one for artificial sponges and foam rubber and the other for household goods. The stores were owned by villagers from Yamoun.

Firemen, aided by locals, battled the flames for hours before succeeding in bringing them under control. The causes of the fire have not been determined yet and the police have launched an investigation.

It was not until one of the incarcerated Arabs managed to pry open a window and slip outside, that the workers were let out. The life-span of the still-born club: 60 minutes.

HEALTH SCHEME

JERUSALEM — The Union of Hotel and Restaurant Workers in Jerusalem has formally adopted a comprehensive health scheme that would ensure free medicine and medical treatment to its members and their families.

Members will be able to undergo surgery or seek hospitalisation at the Makassed Islamic Hospital.

September 12, 1983

PRISONER ILL

JERUSALEM — Abd al-Rahim Fattah Iraqi, a 50-year-old former resident of the village of Tihir in the Triangle, sentenced to life imprisonment in 1968 and now in Ramle jail, has smuggled out a letter in which he complains he is suffering from several diseases affecting his kidneys and his joints. He also complains of internal bleeding and mysterious growths on his body.

Iraqi claims he has asked the prison authorities to have him examined and treated, but his requests and demands have been turned down.

NO MANDATE

HEBRON — Residents of the village of Beit Kahil, in the Hebron district, have issued a statement announcing their objection to the newly formed local council, which they say has been imposed upon them by the Israeli authorities against their will.

MASSACRE REMEMBERED

BETHLEHEM — The Bethlehem region's Youth Committee for Social Work marked the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres early with a simple ceremony at the Dheisheh refugee camp's youth centre.

The evening's programme was comprised of poetry recitals, *debkeh* and a cultural competition.

CROSSING POINT

GAZA — The Israeli authorities announced that the crossing point with Egypt, at the Rafah border town, will be closed for three days, beginning this Friday, on the occasion of the Yom Kippur religious feast.

NAZARETH ELECTIONS LIST

NAZARETH — The Nazareth Democratic Front has ratified the list of candidates who will contest the forthcoming municipal elections. The list is headed, once again, by Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad.

PRE-ELECTION RAID

AILEBUN — Israeli plainclothes police raided the home of Fahim Zureik, a member of the Israeli Communist Party, and arrested two of his sons. The police made a thorough search of the house.

The parents of the two boys were prevented from visiting them in prison or giving them food.

The boys were ordered held for at least three days.

September 13, 1983

BEIT RIMA MOLOTOV

RAMALLAH — A cab driver and one of his passengers were injured when a Molotov cocktail was tossed at them in the village of Beit Rima, in the Ramallah district. The explosion also caused extensive damage to the car.

Israeli military forces imposed a curfew on the village and launched an investigation.

BOMB FOUND

RAMLE — Police sappers defused an explosive device planted at the eastern entrance to the town of Ramle.

Reports said an Israeli reserve soldier waiting for a ride noticed a suspicious-looking package. He called police who determined that the package contained a bomb.

STUDENTS

JEERICH — Jordanian frontier officials have refused to allow a number of West Bank Palestinians studying at European universities to cross the Jordan River bridges on their way to resume their studies. The students said they all carried valid documents issued by their universities attesting to the fact that they were in fact enrolled there.

JOURNALIST BARRED

JERUSALEM — The Israeli authorities barred the entry of American journalist Ralph Schoneman, because of activities sympathetic to the Palestinians.

Schoneman, who arrived at Lydda airport from Geneva, was declared *persona non grata* and placed on the first available flight back to Switzerland.

Israeli attorney Lea Tsemel said Schoneman had come to Israel to help organise the march of Palestinians to Jerusalem on the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

ARMED ROBBERY

JERUSALEM — Four armed men staged a daring pre-dawn robbery at the home of Mohammed Abu Sway, a resident of the Ras al-Amoud suburb of Jerusalem.

The robbers threatened

في الذكرى الاولى لمذبحة صبرا وشاتيلا

أجل .. لا نسيان ولا غفران !
وفي سبيل ذلك نعلن الاضراب العام
في يوم ١٨ ايلول العام ١٩٨٣

تقرب ذكرى مرور سنة على مجزرة صبرا وشاتيلا في ١٦ - ١٨ ايلول العام ١٩٨٢ وهي تقرب في ظروف تشديد التآمر الاميرالي الأمريكي - الصهيوني على شعوب الشرق الاوسط وخاصة على الشعب العربي الفلسطيني والشعب اللبناني الشقيق .

لقد ولعت مجزرة صبرا وشاتيلا بعد ان اخفقت الحرب العدوانية الوحشية - الاسرائيلية الامريكية على لبنان في حزيران العام ١٩٨٢ . في تحقيق اهدافها ومن اعمها : ١ - القضاء على الحركة الوطنية العربية الفلسطينية في سبيل تدمير حقوق الشعب العربي الفلسطيني . ٢ - ضرب الحركة الوطنية اللبنانية وتحويل لبنان الى محمية اسرائيلية - امريكية تنسف استقلال لبنان ووحدة الاقلية وهويته القومية العربية . واتضح بعد ذلك . وخاصة بعد تقرير لجنة كهن القضاة الاسرائيلية ان حكام اسرائيل . وعينياً وزير الحربية آنذاك اريئيل شارون ورئيس الاركان آنذاك رفائيل ايتان والي حد كبير رئيس الوزراء منحيم بيغن ووزير خارجيته اسحق شير بنحملون مسؤولون هذه الجريمة المروعة فهم الذين خلقوا الظروف موضوعاً وعملياً لانتهاكاتها فشنوا مع ايدولوجيتهم العنصرية والطلاقاً من عنادهم المرضي للشعب العربي الفلسطيني وتصورهم ان من الممكن القضاء على حقوقه عسكرياً وايداعاً جنائياً .

اللجنة ضد الحرب في لبنان
ومن اجل السلام الاسرائيلي - الفلسطيني

Abu Sway and his wife and stole JD10,000.

INTO SOLDIERS' POCKETS

JERUSALEM — An Israeli soldier stationed at the Allenby Bridge crossing point has been sentenced to six months in jail following conviction on charges of having stealing JD820 during the search of an Arab traveller.

The court also gave the soldier a four-month suspended sentence.

STUDENTS EXPELLED

GAZA — Parents of 30 Gaza students staged a protest against the UNRWA-run school's de-

cision to expel their children.

The parents claimed that their children had been attending classes since the beginning of the new scholastic year, but were dismissed later under the pretext that there was no room for them.

They said it was impossible to get their children transferred to regular government-run schools now that classes have begun, and registration has closed.

EGYPTIAN UNIVERSITIES

GAZA — The Egyptian authorities have expressed their readiness to provide placed for some 200 Gaza students at Egyptian universities.

However, the courses of

study available to these students are limited. Egyptian universities refuse to enroll Gaza students in science faculties, medicine or engineering.

Last year, 100 Gaza students were accepted, but of these only seven actually enrolled.

DUDEEN AGAIN

HEBRON — Mustafa Dudeen, the former president of the Federation of Village Leagues, has launched an attempt to form a new party, "The Jordanian-Palestinian Federation against Settlement" or the "Democratic Movement for Peace."

Reports said Dudeen has approached several Village League members in Hebron with his proposal.

MILITARY HEADS TO COURT

JERUSALEM — According to just revealed reports, the Israeli Attorney-General Dov Shafiee recommended that General Ya'acov Harkabi, Military Governor of the West Bank, be tried in a disciplinary court, and that Commander Shlomo Lugassy, the governor of the southern region of the West Bank, be court martialled.

Shafiee's recommendations were embodied in a report he submitted more than one and a half months ago. He contended that the two officers have direct and indirect responsibility for the abuse, intimidation and assault mounted by Israeli soldiers against the Arab residents of

Halhoul and Hebron.

The recommendation was made after soldiers belonging to the Peace Now movement complained about illegal practices more than one and a half years ago. As a result of this action five Israeli army officers and soldiers had been tried and convicted.

Following the investigation into the revelations, Shafiee recommended the demotion of Lugassy, but his recommendation was ignored.

Shafiee says in his report, a copy of which found its way into the hands of Israeli reporters,

that Harkabi's actions and behaviour were "fraught with danger," and some of the orders he gave his soldiers were "clearly illegal," and cast serious doubts on the moral calibre of Israeli soldiers.

He recommended that Harkabi face a disciplinary court.

Shafiee put up five separate charges against Lugassy and recommended that he be put on trial. He said that following his investigations, he had come to the conclusion that Lugassy was not fit to hold any position within the military administration.

Shafiee has since expressed dismay that the military government had not yet seen fit to carry out his recommendations.

LEADING PALESTINIAN BURIED

GAZA — Mustafa Freih Abu Mudeen, a member of the Palestinian National Council, the Higher Executive Council of the National Palestinian Federation in Gaza, and the administrative board of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society in Cairo, was laid to rest in his hometown of Gaza.

The leading Palestinian official, who passed away at the age of 59, had been decorated by the late President Jamal Abdel-Nasser for services above the call of duty. His body was

carried to its last resting place in a massive funeral procession, be-

decked with Palestinian flags. Israeli troops kept a low profile along the route of the procession, but stopped the cortege after it had gone some five km and confiscated the flags.

CAMP DEMOLITIONS

GAZA — The Israeli authorities demolished 35 houses belonging to Palestinian refugee families in the beachfront refugee camp at Gaza.

The camp residents say that this has left 150 people homeless.

The Movement of Arab Citizens in Israel issued a statement denouncing the Israeli

measures, which were taken under the pretext that the owners had not obtained a valid building permit.

It added that another 40 refugee families await the same fate. The movement demanded that the Israeli government pay the affected families compensation for the loss of their homes, and give them permission to build new homes.

The Political Economy of Settlement Expansion

by Yusef Elgazi

With the start of the current academic year, the actual size of Jewish settlements in the West Bank can be known. Most of the new settler families move to the West Bank between school years. Therefore, current data regarding their number becomes available only in October and November of every year, with the opening of the new academic year.

There were 110 settlements in the West Bank last winter and about 28,000 settlers. The government, which worked feverishly from behind the curtain of the war in Lebanon to build new settlements and expand existing ones, hopes that the settler population in the West Bank will double. The goal of the government for 1986 is 100,000 settlers in the West Bank. Added to this figure should be about 100,000 Israelis who settled in different parts of Arab Jerusalem.

For those settlements already built and for those planned, and in order to restrict the expansion of the Palestinian villages and towns, successive Israeli governments expropriated about 60 percent of the West Bank land — that is, 5.8 million dunums.

At the beginning, expropriation was done under the pretext of "security purposes." But when this kind of confiscation faced legal difficulties, the Israeli government used another trick, which is confiscating by declaring areas "state lands."

The government controls all water resources in the West Bank. They use them both for settlements and for areas within the "green line." The Israeli government provides the settlements with abundant water, but water to the Palestinian population is restricted. Palestinian local authorities are not allowed to replace water pumps or to purchase spare parts for these machines without a permit from the Israeli authorities.

In his report to the Knesset, the housing minister said that "in 1982 the settlement drive continued in the West Bank and in the Jordan valley; 7200 apartments are in process of construction. In 1982 work was started on 2500 housing units. We will start work on a similar number in the current fiscal year 1983/84."

There are three kinds of settlements: municipal, village and community settlements. During Labour alignment rule, mainly village settlements, including kibbutzim and moshavim, were set up; under Likud rule, municipal and community settlements were built, which sociologists call "dormitories for Tel Aviv and Jerusalem."

Three central elements are involved in the area of settlements: the government, the Jewish Agency and commercial firms from the private sector.

David Levy, the housing minister, said this year in the Knesset that "total investment for village settlements in the West Bank and the Jordan valley was over IS2 billion in 1982/83." This figure is only a partial reflection of the amount of government investment in the West Bank. All the ministries give huge amounts to settlements in the West Bank, in the spheres of construction, development, services and security. The government grants the settlers privileges. They receive luxury apartments for prices much cheaper than those in



"The goal of the government for 1986 is 100,000 settlers in the West Bank...successive Israeli governments expropriated 60 percent of West Bank land..." In turn, "the West Bank exports to Israel a cheap labour force which does not get equal social benefits and imports Israeli goods."



Israel. The government also does its best to guarantee basic services at cheap prices.



Three major elements are behind settlement: the Israeli government, the Jewish Agency and private construction companies.

The Israeli government shares with investment and construction firms in the settlements. It is not always possible to discover if it is Israeli capitalists or foreigners who stand behind these companies with investments in the West Bank. In the exhibition of "The Achievements of Settlement in Judea and Samaria," 13 large Israeli companies took part, including a Histadrut-owned firm. Rassco, which is also active in the West Bank, is owned by an investment group which includes Jews from South America and some sympathisers of the Herut party, such as the families of (cabinet ministers) Meridor and Ne'eman. The commercial companies operating in the West Bank make a great deal of profit since they do not pay taxes.

While the settlement drive in the West Bank and the development of these settlements continues, the occupation is doing its best to freeze development for Palestinian villages and towns. Settlements obtain construction and

development permits with ease, while at the same time the Israeli government makes endless obstacles and difficulties to obstruct giving permits for small or large projects which are necessary for developing and providing services to the Palestinian population. There are thousands of applications for construction and development permits in the Palestinian villages and towns which have been awaiting processing for years.

The Palestinian population, which had been an agricultural society until the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967, is now going through a process of proletarianisation. In the West Bank, a class which sociologists call the "peasant proletariat" has emerged.

The number of West Bank labourers who work in Israel is 75,000: 40,000 of them are registered, 20,000 not registered and 15,000 are daily labourers in Israeli projects such as construction, production and services.

The West Bank has turned into an Israeli market; about 25 percent of the exports find their way there. The West Bank exports to Israel a cheap labour force which does not get equal social benefits and imports Israeli goods.

The Israeli government restricts the import of production from the West Bank and so the economic subordination of the West Bank to Israel grows. The situation in Gaza is much worse. The port there was destroyed at the beginning of occupation and the Israelis have been following a restriction policy towards the citrus industry. The Gaza Strip, which had been until Israeli occupation an independent economic unit, became under occupation completely subordinated.

Oppression

The Israeli government increases the burden of occupation and oppression against the Palestinians in the West Bank (by arrests, collective punishment) and denies them basic human rights: the right to organise and meet, the right to free expression and the right to protest, etc. At the same time, it grants Israeli settlers the power to oppress, to patrol, to punish and to harass the Palestinian population. The settlers, and especially those who belong to Gush Emunim, Kach and other movements, have turned into armed militias which receive their arms from the Israeli army. The former head of the General Security Service (Shin Bet), Avraham Ahitov, wrote an article in *Davar*, August 13, 1973, on Jewish terrorism and decided that the Jewish settlements in the West Bank are "a hothouse for the rise of Jewish terrorism." When they talk about Jewish terrorism they mean, among other things, the attacks on the three West Bank mayors, three years ago, and the bloody attack on Hebron University several weeks ago.

Two Levels

There are two levels of life in the West Bank: one for the Jews, which is developed, and the second for the Palestinians, which is backwards and frozen. As a result, there has emerged two types of populations. The first is the minority of Jewish settlers who settled there in recent years and who are dominant, armed and oppressive and who enjoy privileges and high incomes; they constitute a hothouse for terrorism and fascism. The second is the Palestinian population which lives far behind, robbed of its land, oppressed and denied basic human and citizen's rights. From many angles, a reality is being created under occupation in the West Bank similar to that in South Africa.

One of the direct results of this policy is the emigration of Palestinians from the West Bank. The number of Palestinians who emigrated from the West Bank since 1967 is estimated at 100,000. This is apart from the Palestinians who were forced to flee because of the battles in 1967. The government of Israel encourages the emigration of Palestinians because it wants the land without the people.

The Israeli government is implementing a settlement plan in the West Bank which former agriculture minister Ariel Sharon suggested a number of years ago: divide the West Bank into squares by roads and scatter Jewish settlements in all these squares, in all parts of the West Bank.

The Israeli government's objectives in the West Bank are creating accomplished facts (and quickly) and changing its geo-political and socio-economic character, thus creating a new "Israeli" reality which would make it difficult for the Palestinian people to achieve self-determination and which would prevent them from setting up a sovereign and independent state. The Palestinian people either live under colonial conditions in their homeland or leave it — finally creating conditions for the annexation of the West Bank to the state of Israel. (Translation: Zu Haderkeh, August 24, 1983).